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Polish, Soviet Envoys Evaluate CSCE Prospects

AU0408101788 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 4 Aug 88 p 2

[Burkhard Bischof report: "CSCE Conclusion Possible in Early Fall; East Bloc Envoys Assess Vienna Conference"]

[Text] Vienna—The CSCE envoys of Poland and the Soviet Union, Wlodzimierz Konarski and Yuriy Kashlev, are optimistic with regard to a positive conclusion of the Vienna follow-up meeting. Said Konarski in a talk with DIE PRESSE: "If everything proceeds well, the 35 foreign ministers will come to Vienna in early fall to approve the final document." Kashlev thinks that it will be possible to reduce the questions that are still open to a minimum by the end of this week, so that the work can be concluded in September.

There are only two contentious issues left in the sphere of principles: the protection of minorities and the role of groups and institutions that monitor the observance of the CSCE regulations ("Helsinki monitors"). Concerning both contentious issues, the East Bloc states have not yet accepted the formulations contained in the final document draft that was drawn up by the neutral and nonaligned (N and N) states.

But, Konarski stresses, it is not only the East that has expressed wishes to amend the neutral draft: "In fact, the NATO states do not accept the entire draft either. They have a number of essential objections to the military part of the document." Moreover, Poland has not demanded one single amendment to the N and N paper. Konarski calls the additions to humanitarian questions demanded by other East Bloc states "very limited, both in quantity and quality."

Concerning the military part of the N and N draft, Kashlev supports the neutral states: The Warsaw Pact states, too, are in favor of strong links between the negotiations of the 35 countries on further confidence-building measures and the disarmament forum of the 23 states on conventional disarmament. With regard to these talks of the 23 members of the two military alliances, Konarski thinks that a mandate is just around the corner.

The Polish CSCE envoy says that this is mainly due to the favorable East-West climate: "At no time after World War II have the East and the West come so close in their views. Never has the political will to reduce conventional armaments and forces been so visible." Konarski and Kashlev concur that there are still two important problems to be solved: First, the question relating to the exact geographical zones, whereby it is still unclear which areas in Turkey will be included.

The second problem concerns those weapons that can be used both as nuclear weapons and as non-nuclear weapons ("dual capable systems"). Says Konarski: "I hope that this question will soon be solved, now that the innovative proposals of the Soviet Union were submitted to the West during Genscher's visit to Moscow. Of course, we cannot exclude a priori the dual capable systems, just because they have some additional technical capabilities, be they nuclear or chemical. For us they remain conventional weapons and as such they have to be covered by the mandate for the future negotiations. Which of them will first be included in an agreement that results from these talks is a question to be answered by the consensus of the 23 participants."

Konarski expects the first agreements resulting from the two parallel security negotiations in Vienna to be concluded within the next 3 to 4 years.

More on Visit of Turkish Foreign Minister Yilmaz

Tours Durres 3 Aug

AU0408094888 Tirana ATA in English 0750 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Tirana, August 4 (ATA)—After the visit to the Shkoder city, the foreign minister of Turkey, Mesut Yilmaz, went to the coastal city of Durres on August 3 afternoon. He was accompanied by the foreign minister of PSR of Albania, Reis Malile.

The foreign minister of Turkey was received by the chairman of the Executive Committee of the District People's Council, Isak Shehu, who gave a dinner in honour of Mesut Yilmaz and persons accompanying him.

Attending were the vice president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Rita Marko; the first secretary of the District Party Committee, Qirjako Mihali, and other comrades.

Present were also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR of Albania in Ankara, Nesip Kaci, and the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Turkey in Tirana, Teoman Surenkok.

During dinner, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere, toasts were raised to the traditional friendship between the Albanian and Turkish peoples and to the further strengthening of relations between the two countries.

"We feel great pleasure," Mesut Yilmaz said during dinner, "that immediately after Shkoder we visit the city of Durres, important center and the biggest seaport of the country. We found here a warm reception as it happens everywhere in Albania."

Meets With Alia 4 Aug

AU0408200888 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, this morning received Mesut Yilmaz, foreign minister of the Republic of Turkey, at the Palace of Brigades. Rita Marko, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, were also present. Nesip Kaci, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and Teoman Surenkok, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Turkey in Tirana, also attended the meeting.

Comrade Ramiz Alia had a warm and friendly talk with the Turkish foreign minister and the persons accompanying him. It is a pleasure for us, he told the Turkish foreign minister, that you have come to Albania and acquainted yourself closely with our people and country.

Mesut Yilmaz answered by saying: It is a great honor to be received by you. Our visit to friendly Albania has been an unforgettable journey.

Comrade Ramiz Alia said: I have followed your visit with great attention and I was impressed by the statement you made immediately after your arrival that there are no political problems between Turkey and Albania. This statement reflects the reality in the relations between our two countries and peoples. Through the Turkish guests and journalists, Comrade Alia said, I would like to greet the Turkish people and assure them that among the Albanian people and in our government they will always find the wish to further develop the traditionally friendly relations that exist between us.

Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out that the Albanian people hold special esteem for Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the founder of the new democratic Turkey. Ataturk and Enver Hoxha, the unforgettable leader of the Albanian people, were the inspirers of the Albanian-Turkish friendship. Although at different times, Comrade Ramiz Alia went on to say, they had one great idea in common: The fraternal friendship between the two peoples. It is our duty to follow this road.

Mesut Yilmaz said to Comrade Ramiz Alia: In the words of the leader of the Albanian people, Enver Hoxha, and in those of Your Excellency, we notice the sentiments of the friendship and affection of the Albanian people for the Turkish people. I assure you that these sentiments are reciprocated by the Turkish people.

The Turkish foreign minister then conveyed to Comrade Ramiz Alia greetings from Kenan Evren, the president of the Republic of Turkey.

Comrade Ramiz Alia answered by saying: I believe that your visit, as well as previous and future contacts between us, will undoubtedly help to strengthen the friendly links and cooperation in various fields, including the economic field, where there are opportunities for a new impetus.

In his discussion with the Turkish foreign minister, Comrade Ramiz Alia devoted a particular place to the development of relations between Albania and the neighboring countries. We wish, he said, to live in peace and friendship with all the Balkan peoples and Albania has made and will continue to make its unreserved contribution. Respecting freedom and national independence and supporting all constructive steps that serve to promote an atmosphere of trust and understanding in the Balkans, Comrade Ramiz Alia said, we are strengthening peace, stability, and security in our peninsula.

After briefing the Turkish guests on the domestic and foreign policy of our state and government, Comrade Ramiz Alia also dwelt on Albania's relations with other European countries which, he said, are developing on the basis of respect and mutual benefit, and noninterference in each other's internal affairs.

Mesut Yilmaz answered by saying: I felt special pleasure listening to your views. As you yourself stressed, the development of bilateral relations assumes great importance. In this concrete case, the relations between our two countries and governments are in the interest of our peninsula and beyond. That is why, for our part, we will make every effort to further develop and strengthen the relations between Albania and Turkey, in conformity with the orientations of our president and of Your Excellency.

Comrade Ramiz Alia asked the Turkish foreign minister to convey greetings to President Kenan Evren and once again expressed the wish that the friendship and cooperation between our two peoples and countries may progress even more in the future.

Received by Gjyzari

AU0408200388 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Mesut Yilmaz, foreign minister of the Republic of Turkey, was received this morning by Niko Gjyzari, chairman of the State Planning Commission. They exchanged opinions on the possibility of extending cooperation in the economic field. The meeting was also attended by Nesip Kaci, Albania's ambassador in Ankara, and Teoman Surenkok, the Turkish ambassador in Tirana.

Departs From Rinas Airport

AU0408203088 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Mesut Yilmaz, foreign minister of the Republic of Turkey, concluded his official and friendly visit and left our country today. He was seen off at Rinas Airport by Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs; Luan Babameto, minister of transportation; Alfred Uci, chairman of the Committee for Culture and the Arts, and other comrades.

Nesip Kaci, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in Ankara, and Teoman Surenko, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Turkey in Tirana, were also present.

In a statement for the press prior to his departure, Minister Mesut Yilmaz stated:

In the statement I made when I arrived as the first foreign minister to visit Albania, I pointed out the close friendly relations between our two countries and peoples. I stressed that the fact that our political relations are in a splendid state constitutes suitable grounds for our relations to develop further in various other fields and to reach the desired level.

The discussions that I had during my visit with my honorable friend and colleague, Reis Malile, as well as with the minister of foreign trade, the minister of agriculture, and the chairman of the State Planning Commission, confirmed our belief in this and were of considerable value.

The agreement that we signed on economic, trade, industrial, and technical cooperation, as well as that on international highway transportation, contain new elements and will further promote the comprehensive cooperation between our countries. In this context, we are convinced that the creation and meeting of a joint Turkish-Albanian commission in the near future will provide a new impetus and dimension to our cooperation.

I would like to stress that we decided to adopt other measures in this direction in the agreements that we expect to conclude during the visit that my honorable colleague, Reis Malile, is to make in the coming months.

During our contacts, we had the opportunity to exchange broad and very valuable ideas, not only on matters pertaining to our bilateral relations, but also on various regional and international questions of interest to both our countries, and particularly on matters pertaining to Balkan cooperation.

I consider it an honor to have been received during my visit by President Ramiz Alia and by Prime Minister Adil Carcani. I conveyed to them the greetings of our president and prime minister. I was very pleased that Mr. Carcani accepted the invitation of our prime minister. This reflects the great importance that our government attaches to the development of Turkish-Albanian relations and, at the same time, its determination to do everything it can in this direction.

I noticed with pleasure that the Albanian side nurtures similar sentiments and will.

I also met Vice-President Rita Marko, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers Besnik Bekteshi, and some ministers, with whom I had valuable and sincere discussions.

During our visit, I and the other members of the delegation were particularly touched by the sincere interest and hospitality that we found in Tirana, your beautiful capital, as well as in Shkoder and Durres, but unfortunately we spent only a short time here.

During the visit that my friend Malile will make in Turkey this year, and those to be made soon to our country by the minister of health and the minister of agriculture at the invitation of their respective colleagues, as well as other visits that we hope will take place, we will strive to welcome our Albanian friends as well as possible.

Departing with unforgettable memories, I once again express my pleasure at the joint success that we achieved, and I thank you once again for the extraordinarily warm welcome given us. My best wishes for the happiness and prosperity of the friendly Albanian people.

Delinquency, 'Vulgar' Behavior of Youth Deplored
AU0208114088 Tirana ZERI I RINISE in Albanian 27 Jul 88 p 1

[Editorial: "The Moral and Civil Education of Young People—A Permanent Task for the Youth Organization"]

[Excerpts] Work to promote the healthy, civil upbringing and education of boys and girls is one of the most important spheres of the youth organization's activity. As we know, in order to further this work, the Albanian Union of Working Youth Central Committee organized an ideological and cultural mass action among all the youth organizations, implementing the important tasks set by the fifth AWP Central Committee plenum in this field. The theme of the mass action was the problem of cultured education and behavior among various categories of young people. [passage omitted]

Let us not pretend that this mass action accomplished everything, and that there are no more problems in this area. On the contrary, the mass action taught us, among other things, that we must all continually involve ourselves in the problems of the civil education of young people. This conclusion is reinforced by the fact that discrepancies between young people's intellectual and moral culture are still evident, and can be noticed in some attitudes toward labor and property, in breaches of proletarian discipline, in low productivity, poor quality production, cases of damage to production, various abuses to the point of theft, and so on. Alien symptoms in the behavior of some young people are noticeable in their attitudes to women and girls, their often vulgar and coarse speech, in signs of delinquency among some, in unjustifiable indifference toward other people, and so on. Cases of uncultured behavior continue to occur in cinemas, buses, and trains. It is now summer, and people travel more, going to or returning from beaches and holiday homes. It is not at all pleasant to have some people disturbing travelers with their behavior and becoming a nuisance to citizens on the beaches, instead of doing what they should, which is helping to preserve public order and peace. [passage omitted]

It is now the height of the harvest season. However, on the other hand, it is also the "height" of the season when alien behavior occurs among young people, with cases of damage or theft of common property. Would it not be valuable for the youth organizations to mount a broad campaign to prevent this behavior?

In Durres, alien behavior on the beach, where tens of thousands of citizens from various districts of the country relax, is a problem every year. Organizing a struggle against alien behavior on the beach should be one of the main areas in which the Youth Committee of Durres District can promote civil education. The familiar methods of social control groups, wall newspapers, and caricatures of those who exhibit alien behavior could be supplemented with new methods, especially on the beaches and at other recreational facilities where there are large crowds of people. In this way, the youth organizations of every district can and must find their place in taking on this problem at different times of year, in directing and organizing the struggle against the most disturbing problems and incidents.

Let us consider another aspect. At the end of the just-completed school year, college youth organizations themselves discussed and decided where to allocate young students who had finished college and were to begin work. This prevented the many unfair interventions that used to occur on the part of petit bourgeois "friends" who sought unmerited positions for their relatives. The cheaters were shown their place, had their wings clipped, and their mouth stopped. These fiery discussions were a direct response to Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech on cadre policy at the Vlore AWP District Committee. It is up to the youth organization to combat the tendencies of some young people to profit from unhealthy friendships and backscratching. It is similarly the responsibility of the secondary school youth organizations to see that their young people who are entering work carry out the initiatives and pledges they undertook when on the school bench to work where the homeland needs them most. [passage omitted]

Diplomatic Talks Held With DPRK in Sofia

AU2207185788 Sofia BTA in English
1726 GMT 22 Jul 88

[Text] Sofia, July 22 (BTA)—The Ministries of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea held political consultations here.

The Bulgarian delegation was headed by Mr Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, and the Korean delegation was led by Mr Yi In-kyu, deputy minister of foreign affairs. The head of the Korean delegation was received by Mr Petur Mladenov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and minister of foreign affairs.

In a friendly atmosphere, the sides noted the upgraded development of bilateral relations in the spirit of the common understanding reached by Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Kim Il-song when they met and talked in Sofia and in Pyongyang. Satisfaction was expressed with the state of political contacts and with the economic, cultural and scientific cooperation between the two countries.

The sides reaffirmed their common views on a wide range of international issues. They emphasized the promotion of positive trends in the world and stressed the need for continued efforts towards further reductions in nuclear and conventional weapons, towards strengthening of peace and international security.

Mr Yi In-kyu briefed his hosts on the situation in the Korean peninsula and on the DPRK's efforts towards the strengthening of security in the Asia-Pacific region. The Bulgarian side declared itself in support of the DPRK's initiatives seeking a peaceful reunification of the country on a democratic basis and the turning of the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone of peace.

The DPRK delegation expressed support for Bulgaria's policy of peace, good-neighbourliness and cooperation in the Balkans and for her efforts toward banning nuclear and chemical weapons from the peninsula.

'Arafat-Led PLO Delegation Arrives 4 Aug

AU0408152488 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1500 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] A PLO delegation led by Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, arrived in Bulgaria today on a visit at the invitation of Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

At Varna Airport Yasir 'Arafat and those accompanying him were welcomed by Comrades Milko Balev and Dimitur Stanishev; Dimitur Dimitrov, first secretary of Varna Oblast BCP Committee; and other leaders.

Army Intellectual Life To Be Restructured

AU0408144888 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian
3 Aug 88 pp 1, 2

[Article by Lieutenant General Ivan Stefanov, deputy head of the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army: "For Profoundly Restructuring Intellectual Life in the Army"]

[Excerpts] The BCP Central Committee Plenum, which took place on 19 and 20 July in accordance with the July Concept, the decisions of the BCP National Conference, and Comrade Todor Zhivkov's Reflection on Some Problems and Tasks in the Intellectual Sphere, discussed the problems and adopted decisions related to profoundly and efficiently restructuring the intellectual sphere. [passage omitted]

The plenum worked out a scientifically-based platform of deeply and efficiently restructuring our society's intellectual sphere, including intellectual life in the Bulgarian People's Army. [passage omitted]

The Army is one of the components which exerts a beneficial influence on the intellectual sphere. Rich intellectual life developed in the Army in the struggle to implement the BCP Leninist April line. The Bulgarian People's Army created its own scientific potential, which achieved certain successes in scientific-research activity. Software and video and computer equipment are successfully being introduced in the study process of the higher military educational establishments. The process of restructuring the ideological activity of the troops is successfully progressing. Better results in this respect have been achieved in the political organs in which officers Mednikarov, Manolov, and Pavlov are working. Many leaders of Marxist-Leninist training courses, such as officers Dimitrov, Georgiev, and Tanev, are more skillfully applying new and more effective forms, something which increases both the interest in the studies and the efficiency of the ideological-educational activity in their units. [passage omitted]

The successes are obvious. However, the high requirements of the July Concept and our time powerfully impose a critical and self-critical evaluation of the achievements in the intellectual life of the Army, and direct us to boldly reveal the unsolved problems and existing weaknesses and adopt specific ways, means, and forms of solving them in the interest of increasing the combat readiness of the troops. [passage omitted]

What are the basic trends in restructuring intellectual life in the Army?

The first basic trend intends to deeply restructure Marxist-Leninist and political training, the teaching of social sciences in the higher military educational establishments, and scientific-research work.

Despite the first steps and successes in restructuring Marxist-Leninist and political training, this process still has not become a comprehensive and general one. It is difficult to destroy the old stereotypes, cliches, and formalism in the ideological-educational work. The dialogue, discussion, and practical work in the political training system are being introduced and utilized timidly. The detachment of a significant part of the training from soldiers' life and tasks of the troops continues. The time reserved for Marxist-Leninist training is not being fully utilized. Empty quotations and a fragmentary and dry presentation of the material continue to plague the teaching of social studies.

The deep restructuring of Marxist-Leninist and political training requires us to ensure broader initiative and freedom in the subject-matter plans. This could be achieved through decreasing the quantity of the mandatory themes and expanding the right of the political organs to determine alone what themes could be studied without any lectures, what must be studied with seminars, how many scientific-practical conferences, discussions, and "round-table discussions" must be conducted, and so forth. In addition, it would be expedient to utilize a part of the Marxist-Leninist training study time for acquainting the soldiers with the successes of the municipality, oblast, country, and fraternal socialist countries in socialist construction. [passage omitted]

Restructuring the teaching of social sciences in the higher military educational establishments and the scientific-research activity presupposes the solution of many issues. First of all, it is necessary to improve the selection and qualification of the teachers. It is possible to acquire high theoretical training and to become well-informed not only through self-education, which of course is the main way, but also through various organizational forms, such as courses, specializations, language training, and so forth. [passage omitted]

Every study must contain scientific-research elements and prompt the cadets and listeners to think creatively, ask questions, and develop a striving toward expressing their own opinion, which occasionally differs from the opinion of the teacher. Only when the social studies courses evoke great enthusiasm and develop their own revolutionary-critical spirit, and when there are arguments, discussions, and a struggle of opinions will they evoke a greater interest and the eagerness of the cadets and listeners. [passage omitted]

The second basic trend involves the deep restructuring of the Army's idea-oriented organizations. [passage omitted]

A substantial part of our idea-oriented organizations still have not freed themselves of the quantitative and event-oriented approach, and are not conducting a systematic struggle for implementing the program on the esthetical education of the soldiers and on increasing cultural-creative activity in the soldier's labor and life. [passage omitted]

The third basic trend is related to deeply restructuring the military mass media.

Until now, their efforts have been directed toward reflecting the process of restructuring, which is taking place in the Army. These issues occupy a central place in the press and prompt interesting and expressive forms and means of depicting the dynamics of restructuring under military conditions. However, using many rubrics and frequently replacing them leads to a fragmentary approach and a superficial treatment of the problems, something which does not leave a deep trace in the consciousness of the readers. Very often military life is shown in a poster-like and placative manner. The dynamics of the studies and training, and mainly the people—those bold soldiers and commanders who manifest their initiative and willpower, and who have fully mastered the modern combat equipment—is not being sufficiently demonstrated. [passage omitted]

The deep restructuring of the military mass media requires decisively uprooting the existing weaknesses and shortcomings, and manifesting high professionalism on the part of the military journalists and a deep study of and penetration of the diversified and complex military life. This will increase their role and will turn them into one of the moving forces of restructuring in the Army.

What is necessary now?

First of all to profoundly study and analyze the reflections of Comrade Todor Zhivkov and the plenum's decisions, as well as to adopt the specific measures, forms, and means leading toward profoundly restructuring intellectual life in the Army is necessary. [passage omitted]

Second, the role of the party organizations in developing and deepening the process of restructuring is especially increasing. The development of this process will prompt us to break off with obsolete notions, stereotypes, and forms, develop a struggle of opinions, and intensify the pace of restructuring of the creators and leaders themselves. In this dynamic and intensive activity the party organizations will create a political, moral, and ideological climate of a free struggle of opinions, a civilized discussion of the issues, an atmosphere of creativity, high competence, and a businesslike approach. [passage omitted]

Third, the commanders and political organs are required to demonstrate a greater skill and tact in leading the process of restructuring. They must facilitate the creation of conditions leading to developing discussions,

proposals, creativity, and initiative on the part of creative and ideological cadres, and leaders of culture institutes and military editorial boards, to assert more democracy in the idea-oriented organizations in the Army. [passage omitted]

Fourth, the leaderships of the departments of social sciences, the idea-oriented organizations, and the military press are facing an exceptionally responsible task, namely, to precisely and specifically determine the content and dimensions of the renewal process, something which will indeed lead toward implementing the party platform on restructuring. The practical implementation of this goal requires giving the green light to creativity and initiative, developing creative independence, and respecting the opinion of figures in the field of culture. [passage omitted]

Discussion on Ilinden, Macedonian Question

AU0308184888 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 2 Aug 88 p 3

[Svetla Zhelyazkova report on a roundtable discussion between Prof Dr Dobrin Michev and Prof Lyubomir Panayotov, organized by the ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME editorial board, on the 85th anniversary of the Ilinden-Transfiguration Uprising: "Heroism and Sacred Self-Sacrifice"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Question: Before discussing the role played by the Ilinden-Transfiguration uprising in our history, we would like to hear from you whether this event is properly taught in our schools, and whether every citizen who has completed secondary education in our country has a real notion of its significance for Bulgaria's national development?

Prof Michev: Over many years, following the victory of socialist revolution in our country, our history books adopted a distorted interpretation of the Ilinden-Transfiguration uprising for opportunistic reasons. This was followed by a long period during which the event was totally omitted from the history papers and textbooks in our high schools.

Prof Panayotov: Let us rather say that the subject existed as such, but was not studied.

Prof Michev: It was only toward the end of the sixties that the Ilinden-Transfiguration uprising was restored to its role in Bulgarian historical literature. Numerous articles, pamphlets, and several books were devoted to it, providing a scientific explanation of its nature, motivations, and importance, namely, as an uprising of the Bulgarian population in Macedonia and Odrin Thracia, aimed at the national liberation of this population within the framework of political autonomy as a means of reunifying our free motherland.

Unfortunately, after this, the history books for the higher grades of the secondary school devoted very little space to the Ilinden-Transfiguration uprising. I have the feeling that students who graduate from comprehensive secondary schools have no distinct notion about the meaning of this uprising, about its role in our national history, and about the goals and tasks it pursued, in general.

This statement is based on the fact that, even today, in dealing with the event, certain newspaper articles continue to talk about a so-called "Macedonian question," while our young students are not familiar with this subject, they have no lasting and clear notions about the Bulgarian national issue and its development after the liberation, they are not familiar with the national liberation struggles of the Bulgarian people who were still under foreign domination.

Question: You mentioned the concept "Macedonian question." When did it emerge, and what meaning is attributed to it?

Prof Panayotov: It was defined as the Macedonian question, and originally it was even called the Macedonian-Odrin question, since Bulgaria remained divided, even after the liberation.

Prof Michev: This was the result of decision adopted at the Berlin Conference in 1878, after Macedonia and Odrin Thracia were returned to the authority of the Turkish Sultan.

Prof Panayotov: This is a many sided question. It affected relations between the great powers and the Balkan states, as well as the processes developing within the Ottoman Empire itself. Nevertheless, as to the core of the Macedonian question, it embodied the fate of the Bulgarian population in Macedonia and Odrin Thracia—its struggles for national self-preservation, and survival. [passage omitted]

Question: How is the fundamentally democratic and truly Bulgarian nature of the uprising expressed?

Prof Panayotov: The Ilinden-Transfiguration uprising was directed against the regime in the Ottoman Empire, against national, religious, and social oppression. The uprising was directed against oppression and lack of rights. The basic and most characteristic feature of the uprising was its striving to protect and preserve the Bulgarian national spirit. This was a national Bulgarian uprising by nature, and a democratic movement by substance.

Prof Michev: The appeal of the Bitolya revolutionary okrug to the population stated that the uprising was not aimed against the Turkish people, but against the despotism of the Ottoman regime, to which the Turkish population was subjected as well.

During the uprising, the individual insurrection units issued appeals to the population, including the Turkish people, explaining the democratic and humanitarian nature of the uprising.

Question: You mentioned the link between the national liberation ideology of the Ilinden-Transfiguration uprising and the ideas of Bulgarian national revival. Should this connection be defined as a mechanical adaptation of Botev's and Levski's ideas to a later period and to new circumstances?

Prof Panayotov: The national liberation movement in Macedonia and Odrin Thracia was a natural continuation of the national liberation struggles which began in the period of national revival. I call it natural because the reasons for the national revival movement and its struggle for an independent Bulgarian church, for Bulgarian schools, language, and for national liberation remained the same, since the Ottoman regime had not changed in those areas. In addition to this, a free Bulgarian state already existed, the influence of radical political movements was felt, the social democratic party developed, and all this exerted an impact upon clarifying the ideology and tactics of the organization. [passage omitted]

Question: What should every Bulgarian know about the role of the Ilinden-Transfiguration uprising in our national history?

Prof Panayotov: This event was the second great achievement of our national revolution. The first was the April uprising. It was the result of the struggles waged by the Bulgarian people during the period of national revival, while the Ilinden uprising was the result of the struggles waged by the population of Macedonia and Odrin Thracia following the Berlin Congress. This was a referendum for Bulgarian nationality sealed with blood. In addition to that, the uprising unmasked the great shortcomings of the Ottoman system, its backwardness, and weakness. The uprising also encouraged the other Balkan peoples to rally in the struggle against the Ottoman Empire and to force a different solution for the national question. [passage omitted]

Foreign Debt To Be Paid, Credits Rejected
LD0508084288 Prague CTK in English
0632 GMT 5 Aug 88

[Text] Prague Aug 5 (CTK)—"Czechoslovakia does not plan to increase its debt this year or in the following years. It does not accept credits, but is at the same time re-paying them to a greater extent. Its debts are thus being reduced", a state bank representative has told CTK on the country's policy aimed at cutting its debts.

Jaromir Zahradnik, director of the Foreign Currency Planning Board of the Czechoslovak State Bank, granted the interview in connection with the recent credit of 150 million U.S. dollars received by Czechoslovakia from fifteen West German, Austrian and Japanese banks. Jaromir Zahadnik said that the credit would be used to reconstruct and modernize the Czechoslovak production base. This year, for instance, the import of machinery and equipment from the non-socialist countries is to be 15 per cent higher than in 1987. "The credit is thus designed to extend production and increase Czechoslovakia's export performance. This credit must thus earn money for itself. It must be used in such a way as to expand the production and export capability of its recipients. It is by no means a credit solving for instance balance of payments deficits", Jaromir Zahradnik said.

Genscher Receptivity to Disarm Proposals Praised
AU0508095388 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
3 Aug 88 p 7

[Jan Kovarik commentary in the "A Note" column: "Who Is Ready?"]

[Text] Immediately after his return from Moscow, H.-D. Genscher, FRG minister of foreign affairs, expressed satisfaction with the results of his working visit there and, at the same time, appreciated the fact that the Soviet leadership wishes to fully develop relations with the FRG which, according to him, are in a favorable phase.

This statement, the same as the unusually extensive article in the daily SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG prior to his journey to the USSR, are meant not so much for the international public, but rather for domestic consumption. In the FRG, namely, there exist very influential circles, to which the overall process of the improvement of the international atmosphere, and the development of relations with the Soviet Union in particular, are not quite to their liking. These circles, concentrated in the right wing of the CDU and the CSU, are refusing to accept the ongoing changes in the world. Only a few years ago they were accusing Genscher of dreaming when he instisted on the continuity of the FRG's so-called Ostpolitik from the period of the SPD/FDP coalition. Especially those in Bavaria, but also the CDU's hard core around the leader of the CDU/CSU parliamentary faction, Dregger, were and are letting him know that "they" would be conducting a different foreign policy; that they would criticize neither Pinochet nor South African racism; that they would be pushing more energetically "all-German interests" and would not be developing particular activity regarding disarmament. They might have not succeeded in preventing the West German contribution to the conclusion of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, but, on the other hand, they are pushing through joint West European armament projects and modernization programs, which are to replace the scrapped missiles.

Minister Genscher views politics realistically and has recognized the need for the Federal Republic to contribute its share to a world with fewer weapons, to a more secure Europe. He speaks about a chance; he warns the West German public against marking time and skepticism, which would mainly harm the FRG. In Moscow he again convinced himself that the Soviet domestic and foreign political course is very dynamic, long-term oriented, and capable of reacting to developments. According to Genscher, the FRG should be able to join the international process of changes and come forward with initiatives. The minister's opinion is that Bonn is willing to do that. The question remains who, on the Rhine, is prepared to transform this willingness into deeds.

CPSU Plenum Decision Seen as 'Inspiration'
AU0408102688 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
2 Aug 88 p 7

[Kveta Benesova article in the "We Comment" column: "CPSU's Innovative Activity"]

[Excerpts] Slightly more than 2 years have elapsed since the 27th Congress of the Soviet Communists, which—in the new edition of the CPSU Program—elaborated rough outlines of some key questions of the Leninist concept of socialism. The Congress stressed that the strategic line for developing the political system of Soviet society in the current stage rests in "perfecting Soviet democracy, in an ever fuller realization of the people's socialist self-administration on the basis of an active and effective participation of the people and their collectives and organizations in resolving the issues of the life of the state and society." This CPSU's strategic line was very concretely and innovatively expressed in the resolutions of the 19th all-union party conference and in the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee session of 29 July.

The session of the CPSU Central Committee, that has just ended, adopted—in accordance with the demand of the 19th conference "not to mark time, not to wait, more energetically react to shortcomings and errors, and behave resolutely," as Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev said—a "timetable" of practical measures in respect to the realization of the reform of the political system, the development of the further democratization of the life of

the CPSU and Soviet society, and the deepening of the economic reform throughout the country. This plan of action is being gradually worked out for the coming season. [passage omitted]

Seeking methods and forms for the comprehensive development of society is characteristic of almost the whole of the socialist world today. The constructive nature and the diversity of these processes are contained in the results of a number of conferences of the fraternal parties, as well as of the sessions of their Central Committees. The CPSU and some other Communist Parties, including the CPCZ, are innovatively resolving a number of key questions of socialist practice. The purposefulness, consistency, and the practical resolve with which the CPSU has been dealing with the reform of its political system is, obviously, at the center of general attention—not only of the Soviet society, but also in other countries, especially in the socialist countries.

Our party, too, began after the 17th congress, and in particular after the 5th, 7th, and 9th sessions of its Central Committee, to work out topical questions of our socialist practice. It determined a comprehensive course of economic and social restructuring, concretized ways for the realization of fundamental economic reform and the development of socialist democracy. But this program is not a closed program. We are closely following similar activities in the fraternal socialist countries, especially in the Soviet Union, and expediently and effectively enriching our practice by many stimuli. In this respect the results of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the followup plan of action of the July session of the CPSU Central Committee—a program of truly dynamic and innovative changes—are an important source of knowledge and inspiration.

CSSR-Polish Ties, Problems Examined

AU2907131288 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Jul 88 p 7

[Interview with Stanislaw Wojtek, chief editor of TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA, by Dalibor Macha: "Friendship Does Not Know Any Frontiers"; in Prague on 27 July; opening paragraph is RUDE PRAVO introduction]

[Excerpts] The RUDE PRAVO editorial office was visited on Wednesday [27 July] by Stanislaw Wojtek, chief editor of the Polish paper TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA. The same day he and Zdenek Horeni, chief editor of RUDE PRAVO, signed an agreement on cooperation between the two party papers. We took this opportunity to ask him a few questions about Czechoslovak-Polish relations and some problems in his country.

[Macha] Introduce your newspaper to us—who are your readers?

[Wojtek] TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA is the daily of the PZPR voivodship committee in Katowice and is published in three voivodships—Katowice, Bialsko-Biala, and Czestochowa. Some 10 percent of all Poles live in this conurbation. Our paper is published in an edition of 600,000 copies. The weekend issue on Fridays even has 1.2 million copies. We can therefore pride ourselves on having the largest print run of all party dailies in Poland. [passage omitted]

[Macha] What would the Poles wish with a view to making our mutual contacts even closer?

[Wojtek] The level of our relations along the line of voivodships, cities, enterprises, and institutions is good, but I miss in this sum total contacts between ordinary people, between individuals, young people in particular.

[Macha] A good impression [from mutual relations] is often marred by inordinate mutual trading, which scarcely has anything in common with exercising friendship.

[Wojtek] The trading you are referring to often arises from bad habits. On the other hand, people are often compelled to engage in it because they are unable to exchange the amount of money they need. They are simply limited by the authorities and therefore "change money" through other channels as well. I would like to call to mind what has been discussed at the recent sessions of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee and CEMA. We must achieve such a balance on the market in the socialist countries so as to be able to exchange money without any difficulties. Such black marketeering would then surely quickly disappear.

[Macha] Both our countries are concerned over the deteriorating environment. This concern is making itself felt in a particularly acute form at the two sides of the Czechoslovak-Polish border. What is the view from the Polish side?

[Wojtek] There have already been meetings of experts in the affected area, that is, in Silesia. Both sides are primarily interested in the protection of forests. But there have been talks about the protection of rivers as well. We are primarily concerned over the state of the Odra, which has already brought us from your territory considerable quantities of filth and we have had plenty of work cleaning it up. It has cost us a lot of money. But I think that there would not be any accidents if each country carefully complied with all regulations. [passage omitted]

[Macha] Let us also have a brief look at problems affecting Poland as a whole. Your economy is going through a process of recovery. Which of your practical experiences would you recommend to us? For example, we have heard a lot about the sale of debentures, shares, and the like.

[Wojtek] It is hard to single out one experience; within the framework of reforms we implement a whole set of diverse measures. [passage omitted] But every socialist country has its own path and that is why I would not like to graft our experiences onto your reality.

[Macha] Your leading representatives have recently repeatedly spoken about the need for a so-called anti-crisis pact. Have you already taken some initial steps in this regard? What should such a pact look like?

[Wojtek] At this moment we look at this proposal in a somewhat different way. We no longer speak about an anticrisis pact but about a proreform coalition; all forces in Poland that advocate reforms and socialist renewal should be represented in this coalition. We are trying to enlist people from various milieus, not just from the party. And, what is more, not even all party members advocate reform on the scale proposed by the PZPR. [passage omitted] Our aim is to achieve a situation in which the forces that want a better Poland come from both within and outside the party. The pro-reform coalition is being joined by people who are otherwise quite distant from the party. I am thinking of many Catholics and even of some members of the opposition. However, this concerns opposition that wants to cooperate with us, opposition that has the fate of Poland at heart, which by no means holds true for the opposition as a whole. We help those who want to assume, together with us, their share of responsibility for the fate of the country. This is an example of active cooperation, by which we set great store.

[Macha] Thank you for the interview.

Leaders' Public Appearances 21-27 Jul

AU2907101588 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech from 22 to 28 July reports the following appearances of CSSR leaders (date and page number in parentheses):

Josef Kempny, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Czech National Council [CNR], presented Zdenek Krejci, who is in charge of the reconstruction of the CNR building, with the Order of Labor on the occasion of the latter's 60th birthday, in Prague on 21 July. (22 Jul p 2)

Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, attended and addressed an Army meeting of the best of exemplary soldiers, students of military academies, and commanders of exemplary units, in Prague on 22 July. (23 Jul 88 p 2)

Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Josef Haman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium; and Frantisek Hanus, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, were among those who attended the celebrations of PPR national day at the Polish Embassy in Prague on 22 July. (23 Jul p 2)

Vasil Bilak received Vaclav Bejcek, new CSSR ambassador to Nigeria, in connection with the latter's taking up his post, in Prague on 26 July. (27 Jul p 1)

Frantisek Hanus, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, paid a working visit to the North Bohemia region on 27 July. (28 Jul p2)

Leaders' Public Appearances 28 Jul-3 Aug

AU0508082488 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech from 29 July to 4 August reports the following appearances of CSSR leaders (date and page number in parentheses):

Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Ladislav Adamec, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and premier of the Czech SR; Vladimir Herman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium; and Frantisek Hanus, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, were among those who attended the funeral of Oldrich Zugarek, deputy head of a CPCZ Central Committee department, in Prague on 28 July. (29 Jul p 2)

Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, paid a visit to the newly established state farm in Liptovsky Mikulas and other localities in the area on 2 August. (3 Aug p 2)

Frantisek Hanus, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, arrived for a 2-day visit of the East Slovak region in Kosice on 3 August. (4 Aug p 2)

Honecker Sends Condolences to PRC on Flood

AU0508094788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Aug 88 p 1

[ND report: "GDR Condoles PRC After Flood Disaster"]

[Text] East Berlin—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, sent the following telegram to Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, and Yang Shangkun, president of the PRC:

On the occasion of the serious flood disaster in the province of Zhejiang, which has claimed many lives, I convey to you and the bereaved families—on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the Government, and the people of the GDR—our sincere sympathy.

Erich Honecker,

general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

Mueckenberger Meets UN Anti-Apartheid Figure

LD0308132888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1026 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Text] Berlin, 3 Aug (ADN)—Erich Mueckenberger, member of the People's Chamber Presidium and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, talked with Major General Joseph N. Garba, chairman of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid. Erich Mueckenberger affirmed the GDR parliamentarians' commitment to the struggle for the elimination of racism and apartheid. The friendly meeting was held in the People's Chamber building. Erich Mueckenberger conveyed the most cordial greetings from Erich Honecker, Chairman of the GDR State Council and general secretary of the SED Central Committee, to the UN representative.

Erich Mueckenberger pointed out that the GDR, as a member of the antiapartheid committee, has from the beginning worked actively for the realization of the committee's aims. In the General Assembly it has initiated and supported resolutions aimed at increasing the universality of the international convention aimed at combatting and punishing apartheid crimes.

The GDR politician stressed the need for comprehensive and binding sanctions against the Pretoria regime. The GDR supports the idea of holding an international conference of parliamentarians against apartheid in 1989 within the framework of the IPU. The latest negotiations between Angola, Cuba, and South Africa are an important step toward a political solution to the conflict in southern Africa.

Joseph N. Garba said that world opinion must continue increasingly to be mobilized aginst the inhuman policy of apartheid. On this his second visit to the GDR he learned of the diverse actions and initiatives in the international solidarity movement by the citizens of the country. In the work of the UN antiapartheid committee the GDR enjoyed great esteem for its commitment to peace and disarmament and international understanding.

On the same day Joseph N. Garba was received by GDR Deputy Foreigh Minister Bernhard Neugebauer.

Affirmation of Israel's Right To Exist Promised

AU0508092788 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 5 Aug 88 p 6

[DPA report: "Talks on Israel and Anti-Semitism"]

[Text] Berlin—Heinz Galinksi, chairman of the board of directors of the Central Council of the Jews in Germany, had a meeting of a little under 2 hours with Kurt Loeffler, new GDR state secretary for church affairs, in East Berlin. According to information from the Central Council in West Berlin, they also discussed anit-Semitic excesses in Leipzig, which the author Stefan Hermlin had reported.

Loeffler promised to immediately ask Hermlin for details of the situation. The GDR does not intend to cover up such things, it was stated. The state secretary emphasized that the rather passive conduct of the Leipzig People's Police toward neo-Nazis, which was described by Hermlin, would entail measures against the policemen concerned. Loeffler not only promised more balanced reporting on Israel in the GDR media but also declared his government's intention to advocate the right of existence and security of the Jewish state and to exert a moderate influence internationally. Galinksi evaluated the meeting as a good and open discussion.

Briefs

Nitrates Contaminate Drinking Water

Berlin—Because the nitrate content of drinking water is too high in some GDR regions, local maternity centers provide low-nitrate water bottles for babies and sometimes for small children to prevent the blocking of their respiratory system. According to a report in the magazine DEINE GESUNDHEIT, which was made public by ADN on Monday [1 August], the nitrate limit of 40 milligrams per liter of drinking water is exceeded in some waterworks and above all in private wells. Two thirds of the lakes have nitrate contents that are too high because of phosphate and nitrogen compounds, 60 percent of which come from municipal waste water and 40 percent from agriculture. [Summary] [*AU0208122288 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 2 Aug 88 p 5*]

More on Grosz Press Conference on U.S. Visit

LD0408141788 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1900 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Excerpts] This afternoon in the parliament building Karoly Grosz, MSZMP general secretary and chairman of the Council of Ministers, spoke about his visit to the United States and Canada. First he spoke about the aims of the visit.

[Begin Grosz recording] [Passage omitted] The journey in our view was successful. We achieved our aims, above all we achieved our political aims, for we received the opportunity to get to know better the U.S. way of thinking, to get to know those customs which characterize public life there, to get to know also those subject areas which cropped up again everywhere, and which indicated also the outlines of reservations, in some cases, caution or fear. Here, of course, I am primarily thinking of political elements and not economic ones.

At the same time we had the opportunity to make known the endeavors, ideas of our homeland in great detail, and during our program to fill out the sentences which are maybe formulated for us in an understandable way, with some kind of background information. A good opportunity for this was given by the meeting with the President, the administration. A good oportunity was given by the exchange of opinions carried out in the two houses of Congress, which was extremely significant, the meetings with the representatives of business life, the industrial and banking circles, which represented capital of many many billions at the talks.

Of course, the fundamental aim of such a trip is not making business deals and financial agreements. But, all the same, this gave an opportunity for three members of our delegation, primarily Comrade Tatai, Ferenc Bartha, and Laszlo Kapolyi to have specific business talks and exchanges of opinions. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Karoly Grosz also said that there is great willingness for the development of economic links, and that since his arrival home several large transatlantic companies have already taken up contacts with potential Hungarian partners. It is particularly the opportunities for investing capital in Hungary that interests U.S. enterprises, but both the North American financial institutions and the leaders of the World Bank are ready to give financial support for our economic reform program. Interest was shown in the Hungarian idea that, with U.S.-Hungarian cooperation, an English-language university can be created in Budapest.

Karoly Grosz also spoke about the fact that during the course of the delegation's trip to the United States they also met with Hungarians living there.

[Begin Grosz recording] I must list among the elements of the trip the opportunity provided by the meeting with emigre circles living in the United States. It was our conscious intention, we took prior initiatives for this, too, to create an opportunity, to meet with those who have left our homeland. Not just Hungarian representatives at the various professional-type meetings, but also at a meeting which assumes a definitely emigre-organizational form, independently of what kind of political behavior they had manifested in the past decades, or manifest now, and independently of which wave of emigration they belong to.

By our conduct we wanted to indicate that we wanted to settle the relations and contacts further and forcefully with the emigres. Furthermore, we wished also to make known clearly to those present that we consider that politically the time has arrived to close the period which is burdened particularly by the tensions of the emigration of 1956. I say particularly that of 1956, because neither the emigration of 1945, nor that before 1945, have this same type of political problems. It is much rather in the emigration of 1956 that these live.

Thus, naturally, we undertook the burdens of the exchange of opinions and debate which go together with this. The evaluation of 1956, the question of Imre Nagy, primarily and before all else, cropped up in the Hungarian communities and with the Hungarian partners. On the part of the official U.S. circles this problem was never touched upon by anyone anywhere. [end recording] [passage omitted]

First Group of Taiwanese Legislators Visit

OW0308043488 Taipei CNA in English 0330 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Text] Vienna, Aug. 2 (CNA)— A group of legislators from the Republic of China went to Budapest from Vienna Tuesday for a two-day visit.

This is the first group of Chinese legislators to visit a country in East Europe. Huang Ho-ching, leader of the group, said that members of the group wish to observe the market situation in Hungary and the feasibility of promoting trade relations between the Republic of China and Hungary.

Through the arrangement of the Far East Trade Service, Vienna office, the group will call on business and trade leaders in Budapest.

Before going to Budapest, the group visited the Austrian parliament in Vienna Tuesday morning.

Composed by mostly senior members of the Legislative Yuan, the group flew into Vienna from Taipei Monday morning. It will return from Budapest on Thursday and depart for Amsterdam later. On a global tour, the group will also visit Norway and Finland in Europe and leading cities in the United States.

Grosz Receives London's Lord Mayor Spratt

LD0408165488 Budapest MTI in English 1342 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 4 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the HSWP and chairman of the Council of Ministers, met Sir Greville Spratt, Lord Mayor of the

City of London, in the parliament building on Thursday. Sir Greville Spratt arrived in Budapest on Wednesday on the invitation of Pal Ivanyi president of the Metropolitan Council. Present at the meeting was Pal Ivanyi.

Spratt Meets Other Officials

LD0408205988 Budapest MTI in English 1644 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 4 (MTI)—Istvan Sarlos, the deputy president of the Presidential Council met Thursday morning Sir Greville Spratt, the Lord Mayor of London City who had negotiations with Janos Fekete, the first deputy governor of the National Bank of Hungary.

Negotiations of the Lord Mayor and his delegation with Pal Ivanyi, member of the HSWP political committee and chairman of the Budapest Metropolitan Council also started on Thursday morning.

Pal Ivanyi recalled that the cooperation between the two countries has developed in recent years. He said that for Hungary the development of the international political and economic climate is of vital importance. We make efforts to expand contacts with everyone, and stimulate the exchange of cultural and artistic assets and the development of tourism, he said.

In his response Sir Greville Spratt concluded that both countries make determined efforts for the improvement of the atmosphere in East-West relations and the reduction of tension. Hungary and Great Britain may justly be proud of their contribution to the improvement of the international political climate.

Before the official meetings the British politician responded to the press. At discussions at the National Bank of Hungary he explained that business experts of London are ready to provide help with expertise to the emerging economic renewal in Hungary.

At the day's events of Sir Greville Spratt Ambassadors Matyas Domokos of Hungary to London and Leonard Vincent Appleyard of Great Britain and North Ireland to Budapest, were also present.

6-Month Economic Statistics Reported

LD0408010088 Budapest MTI in English 0630 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 3 (MTI)—Over the first six months of 1988 the production of state-run industrial companies and industrial cooperatives was 0.2 per cent in excess of the previous year. The output of basic material producing branches rose by 4.0 per cent, of the processing industry by 0.6 per cent, while that of energetic branches dropped by 3.4 per cent. Manufactured sales for export went up by 4.9 per cent and for the domestic market decreased by 1.8 per cent. The workforce fell 2.9 per cent short of the figure for the first half of last year. Industrial production per employee was up by 3.2 per cent.

The construction industry increased the amount of building-assembly jobs by 6.3 per cent. The workforce grew by 0.3 per cent. In the period under survey 10,483 flats were built, the same as a year earlier.

Crop and horticultural purchases rose by 2.6 per cent against the first half of 1987. Livestock sales fell by 3.2 per cent.

The consumer price index was, on average, 16.5 per cent higher than in the corresponding period of last year. Personal cash incomes from central sources increased by 11.9 per cent.

Investment expenditures in the socialist sector amounted to 80,800 million forints, 8.3 per cent more than during the first six months of 1987.

Imports fell by 2.5 per cent, at current price, and exports rose by 6.6 per cent.

Leaders' Public Appearances 11-21 Jul

AU2907112488 [Editorial Report] Budapest newspapers in Hungarian from 12 to 22 July report on the public appearances of the following leaders (source, date, and page number of each report is given in parentheses):

MSZMP Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Janos Lukacs and MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Lenard Pal attended a reception at the Mongolian Embassy in Budapest on the occasion of Mongolia's national day, on 11 July. (NEPSZABADSAG, 12 Jul, p 5)

MSZMP Politburo Member Istvan Szabo, chairman of the National Council of Producer Cooperatives, paid a visit to Tolna County where he met with party and county leaders and visited an agricultural cooperative, on 11 July. (NEPSZABADSAG, 12 Jul, p 5)

Peter Medgyessy, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended a reception at the French Embassy in Budapest on the occasion of the French national day, on 14 July. (NEPSZABADSAG, 15 Jul, p 8)

MSZMP Politburo Member Csaba Hamori, first secretary of the KISZ Central Committee, attended a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Gyor County party committee on 19 July. (NEPSZABADSAG, 20 Jul, p 5)

Miklos Nemeth, MSZMP Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee, paid a visit to Veszprem County and met with party and county leaders, on 19 July. (NEPSZABADSAG, 20 Jul, p 5)

MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Lenard Pal gave a lecture at a conference of the Society for the Propagation of Scientific Knowledge on 20 July. (NEPSZABADSAG, 21 Jul, p 5)

MSZMP Politburo Member Csaba Hamori, first secretary of the KISZ Central Committee, and MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Lenard Pal attended a reception at the Polish Embassy in Budapest on the occasion of that country's national day, on 21 July. (NEPSZABADSAG, 22 Jul, p 2)

Jaruzelski Meets Head of Vatican Relations
LD0408010388 Warsaw PAP in English
1454 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 3—President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski received today Jerzy Kuberski, head of the team for permanent working contacts between the Polish Government and the Holy See.

Public Opinion Poll Results on Status of Church
AU0408120488 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
2 Aug 88 p 3

[PAP report: "Opinions About the Place and Role of the Church in Poland"]

[Text] "Is the church trying to increase its influence over what is happening in Poland?" asked the Public Opinion Research Center. A considerable number of respondents, 41 percent, had no firm opinion, but most of the remainder did say that the church is trying to expand its influence.

Twelve percent of respondents replied "definitely yes," 28.7 percent replied "probably yes," 15.3 percent replied "probably not," and 2.5 percent replied "definitely not."

Some 10.3 percent of those who had observed growing church influence also remarked on the increasing energy of clergymen, the contents of their sermons, and their efforts to influence their congregations; 9.3 percent remarked on the church's social activity and its involvement in important domestic affairs; and 9 percent remarked on the church's activity for the sake of national accord and its role as mediator in difficult matters (for example, during the April and May strikes).

Some 8.2 percent of the respondents said that the church is holding dialogue and negotiations with the government, 6.3 percent believed that the church speaks out on the subject of political affairs, 6.2 percent said that the church is full of concern for society and represents its interests, 5.7 percent said that it possesses prestige; 4.9 percent said that it is striving to win young people over, 4.7 percent that it is striving to win over people in general, 4.6 percent said that the way is being paved for greater church influence, and 3.6 percent said that the church is combatting social ills.

Some 7 percent of the respondents believed that the church is interfering in affairs of state, 5.2 percent said that pulpits are being used for political purposes, and 4.7 percent said that the church is actively supporting the opposition.

Weekly Criticized for Carrying 'Traitor's' Story
AU0408120888 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
2 Aug 88 p 3

[Jerzy Lobman commentary: "Moralists"]

[Text] TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, a journal fond of complaining about an "inadequate paper allowance," devoted in its 31 July issue one-third of a page to a review of Leszek Prorok's book "Conrad's Moves" ["Inicjace Conradowskie," a critique of the work of Joseph Conrad]. It would not be worth mentioning this, were it not for one detail. It seems that TYGODNIK was unable to find any respectable reviewer living in Poland, and instead employed someone who, though he likes to consider himself a distinguished "Conradologist," has in fact distinguished himself in another less intellectual sphere, namely Zdzislaw Najder [former head of Radio Free Europe's Polish section, sentenced in absentia to death for treason].

It is of course a well-known fact that there are people, in Poland and America, who clashed with the penal code and who at the same time shone in literature and related areas. One of them, Sergiusz Piasecki, well known between the wars, even became president of the emigre "Polish Writers' Union" later. Usually, these are people whose clashes with the law involved common crimes, such as theft, murder, and smuggling. They passed their time in prison by writing, and sometimes something "came out" of this. However, Najder is different. He is under sentence of death for crimes against the fatherland.

Every society around the world possesses a certain moral code, usually stricter than a penal code. There are people who, although not yet eligible to be the clients of prosecutors, are nevertheless "not the kind of people to shake hands with" or "invite home to dinner." There are people who have served their sentences and do not deserve to be reminded of their past sins, but who are still subject to the abovementioned social sanctions. For them, the moral code is tougher than the penal code. And yet in Najder's case, the situation is even worse. Najder has avoided liability. He has not faced a court. He escaped, and furthermore, following his escape he continue his activity, albeit in a somewhat different sphere.

It is difficult to believe that the editors of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY could not find any forthright reviewer of Prorok's book in Poland. Therefore, the conclusion is that they have introduced Najder to their columns on purpose. If so, there can only be two explanations. Either TYGODNIK POWSZECNY wants to display its total disregard for court sentences, which is not considered a good custom, or its love of pluralism is so great that it is trying to introduce spies and traitors to the cultural scene. This again would throw the light on TYGODNIK's morality, something in which the paper prides itself.

Independence Activists Arrested 4 Aug
AU0508071688 Paris AFP in English
2123 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 4 (AFP)—Eight members of the outlawed Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN) were arrested Thursday on their way to Krakow to take part in a demonstration in memory of pre-war Polish leader Marshal Jozef Pilsudski, opposition sources said.

They were in a group of 23 KPN activists travelling by train from Bydgoszcz in western Poland. They they were picked up at a railway station at Piotrkov-Trybunalski in central Poland after distributing leaflets calling on people to commemorate the Marshal.

Every year KPN organises a march from Krakow to Kielce in memory of Marshal Pilsudski's men, who made a similar march during World War I calling on Poles to rise up against their Russian and Prussian occupiers.

The marshal is viewed by many Poles as the father of Polish independence after World War I, the War, but since 1945 has been officially regarded an "enemy of socialism," having fought the Bolsheviks in 1919-1920.

Gwiazda Interviewed on Economic Cooperation
AU2307145988 Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian
No 29, 20 Jul 88 p 7

[Interview with Wladyslaw Gwiazda, PPR minister of foreign economic cooperation, by Wlodzimierz Piotrowski of INTERPRESS on behalf of ANTENI: "Poland: Credit Balance"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Piotrowski] Comrade minister, would you kindly briefly describe the present situation on economic cooperation with foreign countries?

[Gwiazda] We may assess 1987 as a successful year. Domestic trade was one of the branches of the national economy that overfulfilled their plan tasks for last year. The value of exports to the socialist countries exceeded the plan figure by R130 million. For the first time in many years we showed an overall credit balance in the trade exchange with the states of the socialist community.

We also had a higher credit balance than in 1986 in trade with the Western countries. The plan tasks for exports to these countries were overfulfilled, which enabled us to increase imports at a faster rate than had been predicted.

We generally strengthened the Polish economy's export orientation. A number of factors contributed to the quite good results recorded in foreign trade: the active policy regarding prices and the zloty exchange rate against foreign currencies, known in commercial language as the foreign exchange-prices policy; the system of preferences for exporters introduced in 1986; and the results of the modernization and development initiatives in the economy.

[Piotrowski] In the socialist countries programs for accelerated economic reforms are being implemented. What new opportunities are emerging for Polish-Soviet cooperation?

[Gwiazda] We note a great similarity in the reforms being carried out in the system of management and leadership in the Soviet Union and in Poland. In Poland these reforms mark the second stage in the reform of the economy. I will list a few of the opportunities that stem from the reforms being implemented:

—The broad-scale modernization of the Soviet economy, the improvement of production, and the priority being given to the development of the modern branches of industry mean a substantial structural change in the demand for machinery and equipment.

—The reforms under way in the USSR also provide an opportunity for developing direct cooperation between goods producers and consumers, for exchanging experience between them, and for undertaking joint research and development projects that will create a broader base for production sharing and specialization of production. This will promote a dynamic rise in the mutual goods turnover.

—On the basis of the agreements and protocols that have been signed, at present about 380 pairs of production enterprises and scientific institutes in the food and tobacco industry sector are instituting cooperation. The same applies to the direct exchange of consumer goods—here about 190 enterprises are cooperating in the domestic trade sector, including cooperative enterprises.

—We have set up 8 joint organizations and 19 scientific and design collectives, as well as the first joint enterprise, "Polena-Mirakulum" in Krakow. Work is in progress on forming a further number of such enterprises.

[Piotrowski] As an economist, how do you view the work of CEMA in the near and more distant future?

[Gwiazda] I am by nature an optimist. I am also an optimist in my capacity as Poland's permanent CEMA representative. I have faith in the results of the modernization of CEMA started at its 43d session. These results are already evident. We have cut the number of organs and the associated staff for servicing the Secretariat. However, this is just a beginning. We must consistently improve the mechanisms of economic-financial cooperation, although this is a difficult problem.

We are giving the most attention to financial and economic problems, and are also working on the problems of prices and credit policies.

I think that effective economic mechanisms must also be sought along the line of bilateral deals between interested countries with similar domestic economic systems, since the attempts made within the framework of CEMA as a whole do not always produce the expected results. These agreements will be open to all the other CEMA member countries, who may join in the agreements at a time chosen by them.

[Piotrowski] You are also cochairman of the Intergovernmental Polish-Bulgarian Commission for Economic Cooperation. How do you assess the present cooperation and the prospects for Polish-Bulgarian cooperation in this sphere?

[Gwiazda] I would first like to remind you that trade between Poland and Bulgaria rose even when Poland was experiencing a deep economic crisis in the 1980-83 period. In 1987 the goods exchange between Poland and Bulgaria reached 1,047 million convertible rubles, a 14-percent rise as compared to 1986. This shows the dynamics of the mutual relations.

From the total goods exchange, 70 percent relates to the import and export of machinery, equipment, and vehicles. This includes sea-going vessels and their technical equipment, such as ship engines, refrigeration equipment, various types of combined units, filters, valves, electrical apparatus, and so on.

[Piotrowski] What are the difficulties hindering the development of Polish-Bulgarian economic cooperation?

[Gwiazda] Unsatisfactory quality and failure to keep to delivery deadlines are shortcomings that hold up cooperation between all our countries. We discussed these and other problems at the forum of the Intergovernmental Commission for Economic Cooperation in Warsaw. It gives me pleasure to emphasize that we found a common language with the Bulgarian comrades on the issue of more up-to-date and flexible bilateral and multilateral cooperation within the CEMA framework.

6-Month Plan Fulfillment Communique

AU0208060188 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 28 Jul 88 pp 4, 5

["Communique issued by the Central Office of Statistics on the Country's Socioeconomic Situation in the First 6 Months of 1988"]

[Text] Compared with the first 6 months of 1987, the production of the public sector industry increased in the first 6 months of 1988. The upsurge in the production of export goods, production materials, and investment goods was considerable, but the rate of the production of consumer goods was slower. The production of the public sector construction-assembly plants was bigger, and more apartments were completed. Public sector freight transportation increased. Considering the actual upsurge of production and services, we should keep in mind that the working time in the first 6 months of 1988 was by 2 working days longer than in 1987. Also the winter was much easier than last year.

The condition of cereals before the harvest was worse than in the past few years. Compared with June 1987, the number of hogs increased, but the number of cattle and sheep continued to decrease. Livestock procurement was slightly lower than in the first 6 months of 1987.

The upsurge in exports and imports was high, especially in trade with the second payments area. The balance of trade in goods was positive in the case of the two payments areas. The ratio of prices for exported goods continued to be favorable in relation to prices for imported goods in the case of the first payments area, but this ratio deteriorated in the case of the second payments area.

The money-market balance deteriorated in the first 6 months of 1988, and the rate of increases in retail prices and services was accelerated. At the same time, the rate of increases in personal incomes considerably outpaced the rate of price hikes and expenditures. The increase in personal incomes, including the considerable increase in cash reserves, did not go hand in hand with the necessary increases in the flow of goods and services. The stocks of consumer goods increased much more slowly than retail sales.

Compared with the first 6 months of 1987, investment outlays increased considerably, but the rate of increases in outlays on machines and equipment was slightly higher than the rate of increases in outlays on construction-assembly work. The number of new tasks increased greatly, but the discipline of investment implementation did not improve.

Basic indicators characterizing the development of the national economy in the first 6 months of 1988 were as follows:

Item	Index for first 6 months of 1987 equals 100
Sold production in public sector industry(constant prices)	106.3
Sold production per worker in public sector industry (constant prices)	107.9
Basic production of public sector construction-assembly plants (constant prices)	107.8
Basic production per worker in public sector construction-assembly plants (constant prices)	111.3
Procurement of farm produce (constant prices)	about 105
Number of cattle	98.1
Number of hogs	105.7
Freight carried by public sector transportation	108
Passengers carried by public sector transportation	103.2

Item	Index for first 6 months of 1987 equals 100
Sold production in public sector industry(constant prices)	106.3
Sold production per worker in public sector industry (constant prices)	107.9
Exports (constant prices)	113.1
Imports (constant prices)	115.7
Employment in public sector economy (excluding apprentices)	99.5
Average monthly wage in public sector economy	157.5
Average current monthly retirement or disability pension (excluding farm pension)	151.9
Index of retail prices on consumer goods and services	149.4
Index of living costs of workers in public sector economy,	about 150
including index of living costs without changes in prices of alcohol and tobacco	about 141
Personal incomes	163.7
Personal expenditures	156.8
Retail sales of goods by public sector units	
in current prices	155.3
in constant prices	about 103
Public sector investments (constant prices)	113
Apartments built altogether,	105.1
by the public economy	102.5
by the private economy	112.7
Budget expenditure on social and cultural services	145

Conditions for Economic Development. Finance [chapterhead]

At the end of June 1988 Poland's population amounted to 39.9 million and increased by about 100,000 persons than at the end of 1987 and about 200,000 than one year ago. Urban areas were inhabited by 61.1 percent of the population.

In the first 6 months of 1988, 303,200 babies were born. Compared with the first 6 months of 1987, the number of births per every 1,000 persons decreased from 16.6 to 16 percent. At the same time, the number of deaths amounted to 186,800 and decreased from 10.5 to 9.9 percent per every 1,000 persons. The natural increase per every 1,000 persons went up from 5.8 to 6.1 percent. The number of infant deaths went down, and the coefficient of death per every 1,000 live births decreased from 18.2 in the first 6 months of 1987 to 16.4.

Average employment in the public economy amounted to 11,688,000 persons and was 0.5 percent lower than in the first 6 months of 1987. Employment in the area of material production decreased 1.3 percent and of nonmaterial production increased 2.4 percent.

Employment in the area of material production decreased as follows: industry—1.5 percent; construction—1.9 percent; transportation—2.4 percent; and trade—1.1. It increased 1 percent in communications.

The overall figure of employment included about 100,000 workers employed in foreign countries by Polish organizational units.

The average number of persons working the nonagricultural private economy in the first 6 months of 1988 is estimated at about 1.11 million, that is, at about 7 percent fewer than in the first 6 months of 1987. This figure includes about 800,000 persons working in trades, which is about 10 percent more.

Enterprises' demand for new workers increased. The number of registered vacancies at the end of June amounted to 413,000 compared with 348,000 a year ago. In the first 6 months of 1988, 731,000 persons were offered jobs. This was 10 percent fewer than in the first 6 months of 1987.

The value of the supply basic fuels and materials in the first 6 months of 1988 was by 1.3 percent higher than in the first 6 months of 1987. The flow of basic materials differed in individual groups. The supply of polyvinyl chloride, tires for farm machines and equipment, polyethylene, metal rods, synthetic rubber, and silver went up, but the supply of raw hides, tractor tires, aluminum, tinned sheet, and polystyrene went down. Because of the mild winter, the supply of coal to meet the country's needs was by 1.1 percent lower than in the first 6 months of 1987. Industrial supplies of coal decreased by 2 percent and housing and communal supplies increased by 4.2 percent. The coal stocks held by users increased 35.7 percent. This figure included a 28.4-percent increase in the coal stocks held by industrial users and a 108.8-percent increase in the stocks held in fuel storage facilities.

The supply of coke to meet the country's needs decreased by 3.7 percent. This figure included a 3.2-percent decrease in the industrial supply. The supply to other consumers increased 2.6 percent.

Compared with the first 6 months of 1987, the supply of gasoline and motor oil was much bigger, and the supply of heating oil was much smaller.

The demand for electrical power was fully met. Compared with the first 6 months of 1987, the net consumption of electrical power to meet the country's needs increased 2.7 percent. This included a 1.1-percent increase in industrial demand and a 6-percent increase in housing and communal demand.

During the January-May period of 1988 state budget incomes amounted to about Z3.544 trillion and accounted for 41.7 percent of the planned annual incomes (in 1987 the incomes for 5 months accounted

for 37.2 percent of the annual income). State budget expenditures amounted to Z3.562 trillion in the first 5 months and accounted for 40.6 percent of the expenditure planned for 1988 (the figure for last year was 40.8 percent). The relatively large increase in budget incomes resulted from this year's acceleration of the revenue from turnover and income taxation. During that period the revenue from enterprises' income taxation increased 114.6 percent and accounted for 31.2 percent of the planned annual revenue. This figure was 27.2 percent last year. The revenue from turnover taxation increased by 65.1 percent and accounted for 41.6 percent of the planned annual revenue. This figure was 36.5 percent last year.

In the first 5 months of 1988 the central budget's current expenditures to finance plants and other units using economic accounting amounted to about Z976 billion and were 51 percent higher than in the same period in 1987. The highest subsidies went to dairies (about Z184 billion, which was an increase of about 108 percent), to grain mills (about Z89 billion, which was an increase of about 140 percent), and to housing services (about Z93 billion, which was an increase of about 47 percent). In the first 6 months of the year the coal subsidies amounted to Z59 billion and decreased 14.5 percent and meat subsidies amounted to about Z16 billion and decreased 18.7 percent.

During the January-May period of 1988 the public enterprises (excluding state farms and producer cooperatives) achieved capital stock formation of Z3.050 trillion, which was an increase of 97.5 percent compared with the same period in 1987. The value of sold production amounted to Z16,639,600,000, which was 59.5 percent higher than in the first 5 months of 1987. This capital stock formation includes a positive balance of Z3,855,300,000 and a negative balance of Z805.3 billion.

The liabilities generated by the division of capital stock formation amounted to Z1.512 trillion, which was 69.3 percent more than in the first 5 months of 1987.

The balance of profits and losses amounted to Z2,821,500,000 in the first 5 months of 1988 and increased 96.3 percent compared with the same period in 1987. This balance was compounded of profits amounting to Z2,836,800,000 and of losses amounting to Z15.3 billion.

After the deduction of income taxation and taxation on overtime, the profit retained by enterprises amounted to Z1,279,200,000 and was by 86.9 percent higher than in the first 5 months of last year.

In the January-May period, 1,448 enterprises or 7.7 percent of all enterprises, registered losses. In the same period in 1987 there were 2,017 loss-making enterprises, which was 11.4 percent of all enterprises. Loss-making enterprises in industry accounted for 1.5 percent of all industrial enterprises (4.5 percent last year) and those in construction trades accounted for 4.7 percent (last year 7.3 percent). Most industrial and construction enterprises had profits that accounted for 30-50 percent of prime costs. Material Production [chapter head] Industry [subhead]

Compared with the first 6 months of 1987, the sold production of the public industry in constant prices increased 6.3 percent in the overall working time that was longer by 2 days. Sold production increased 4.9 percent in the time under consideration. The 1988 Central Annual Plan stipulated that production should increase 3.7-4 percent.

The production of the extracting industry, which accounted for 8.2 percent of overall industrial production, increased 0.7 percent, while the production of the processing industry (91.8 percent of industrial production) increased 6.8 percent.

The industry's sold production (manufactured in constant prices) for domestic purposes increased about 3 percent and that for export purposes increased about 13 percent.

In current prices of manufacture, the sold production of the public industry increased 60.4 percent, while the prices of manufacture increased 50.9 percent.

In constant prices of manufacture the sold production of the small-scale industry increased 3.5 percent. The share of that industry in the value of sold production (in current prices) of the public industry amounted to 5.2 percent, in employment to 10.9 percent, and in worker wages to 8.7 percent.

The progress in the implementation of the Central Annual Plan in respect of production sold in the first 6 months of 1987 was ahead of the working time and amounted to 51.2 percent. The production achieved in the first 6 months of 1987 accounted for 49.9 percent of overall annual production.

The production of more important articles in the public industry was as follows:

Item (unit of measure)	Absolute figures	First 6 months of 1987 equal 100
Bituminous coal (million tonnes)	96.8	101.1
Brown coal (million tonnes)	36.6	101.6
Coke from bituminous coal (million tonnes)	8.5	100.7
Natural gas (cubic hectometers)	3,005	95.6
Refined oil (million tonnes)	7.5	108.5
Electricity (terawatt-hours)	72.4	96.9
Crude steel (million tonnes)	8.5	100.3
Rolled stock (million tonnes)	6.2	102.6

Item (unit of measure)	Absolute figures	First 6 months of 1987 equal 100
Bituminous coal (million tonnes)	96.8	101.1
Brown coal (million tonnes)	36.6	101.6
Electrolytic copper (thousand tons)	199	101.9
Aluminum (thousand tonnes)	23.7	100.6
Lead (thousand tonnes)	47.2	109.3
Automated machine tools (units)	218	105.8
Automated control equipment (billion zloty) (a)	27	108
Computer systems and computerized electronic equipment (billion zloty) (a)	56.5	135
Cars (thousand units)	159	101.1
Farm tractors (thousand units)	28.7	96.7
Seagoing vessels from 100 dwt upward (thousand dwt)	107	100.1
Semiconductor elements (million units)	186	118.8
of which:		
Integrated units (million units)	30.1	119.3
Household electric washing machines (thousand units)	151	130.7
Household refrigerators and freezers (thousand units)	245	95.2
Radio receivers, including within systems (thousand units)	1.395	96.7
Television sets (thousand units)	365	111.3
of which:		
Color television sets (thousand units)	102	82.2
Sulfur in pure component equivalent (thousand tonnes)	2.462	97.4
Nitrogen fertilizers in pure component equivalent (thousand tonnes)	825	109
Synthetic compounds (thousand tonnes)	347	118.8
Chemical fibers (thousand tonnes)	83.8	106.1
Cement (million tonnes)	8.6	109.8
Walling materials (fired solid bricks equivalent) (million units)	4,817	110.3
Furniture (billion zloty) (a)	164	106.
Paper (thousand tonnes)	612	109.4
Cotton and cotton-like fabrics (thousand kilometers)	393	97.7
Woolen and wool-like fabrics (thousand kilometers)	51	101.8
Silk and silk-like fabrics (thousand kilometers)	66.2	110.8
Knitted articles (million units)	153	98.5
Footwear (excluding rubber footwear) (million pairs)	82.6	104.2
Meat and fats (excluding private slaughtering) (thousand tonnes)	1,142	99.1
of which:		
Slaughtered poultry (thousand tonnes)	115	97.7
Sea fish catch (thousand tonnes) (b)	314	80
Butter (thousand tonnes)	119	100.8
Bituminous coal (million tonnes)	96.8	101.1
Brown coal (million tonnes)	36.6	101.6
Edible vegetable oil (thousand tonnes)	171	104.8
Cigarettes (billion units)	47.4	95.2
Industrial compounds feeds (thousand tonnes)	3,802	100.4

(a) denotes the value of production in current prices of manufacture, dynamics in constant prices of manufacture in 1984.
(b) including catches by private fishermen.

Compared with the first 6 months of 1987, the individual branches of industry achieved the following dynamics of sold production in percentage points:

Precision industry	120.3
Electroengineering and electronic industry	114.4
Transportation stock industry	111.5
Machine-building industry	110.5
Building materials industry	110.3
Leather industry	109.6
Clothing industry	108.4
Timber industry	107.3
Chemical industry	107.2
Paper industry	106.9
Textile industry	106.9
Refined ceramics industry	106.4
Nonferrous metal industry	105.9
Metallurgical industry	105.8
Glass industry	104.3
Fuel industry	102.8
Iron industry	102.8
Food industry	102.6
Energy industry	100.6
Coal industry	99.5

Compared with the first 6 months of 1987, per worker sold production (in constant prices of manufacture) increased 7.9 percent and in terms of working time it increased 6.5 percent.

At the end of June 1988 the state industry possessed about 4,000 automated production lines, which was 20.8 percent more than at the end of June 1987. The number of automated production lines increased from 2,077 to 1,201, that is, by 6 percent; the number of computerized production lines from 650 to 1,155, that is, by 77.7

percent; of machine tool centers from 382 to 403, that is, by 5.5 percent; and of robots and robot equipment from 195 to 233, that is, by 19.5 percent.About 900 new technologies were introduced and the production of 2,000 new articles was initiated in the first 6 months of 1988. It is estimated that the share of the production of new and modernized articles in the overall value of sold production amounts to 3.1 percent compared with 3.7 percent in the first 6 months of 1987. This index was 6.4 percent for the electroengineering industry and 3.7 percent for the chemical industry.

In the first half of 1988, the manufacture of Elwro 800-Junior and 801-AT microcomputers, VCA 54 integrated circuits, and 14 and 20-inch color TV picture tubes was started, among other things. In addition, a start was made on the production of a microprocessor-controlled system of operating railroad switch points and brakes, containers for foreign clients, and several varieties of drugs for the treatment of skin and rheumatic diseases.

Energy and material-saving technologies were applied to production, including the "thermovisual" method of operating giant furnaces, which involves less fuel and permits a better quality of the raw material. New technologies for producing aluminum alloys were also applied.

Three thousand inventions and 1,900 domestic designs were registered for protection. This was 15.2 percent more inventions and 28 percent more designs than in the first six months of 1987.

In state industry, about 57,000 inventions and designs were registered, of which about 29,000 were applied (the figures for last year were about 64,000 and about 30,000 respectively).

The number of products bearing the "1" and "Q" quality signs at the end of June was 24,300, which is about 600 or 2.4 percent more than at the end of June 1987.

Construction [subhead]

Basic production in socialized building and refurbishing enterprises in terms of fixed prices was 7.8 percent more than during the first half of 1987, against a planned increase of 5 percent.

The productivity achieved in the construction industry was partly the result of adapting the output during the first quarter of this year to the very low output during the first quarter of 1987. During the second quarter of this year, the construction industry's output was lower than during the same period last year.

Concerning basic production, 47.1 percent of the Central Annual Plan tasks in this sphere was fulfilled, at a consumption of 49.6 percent of total working hours for the whole year.

Productivity in building and refurbishing enterprises measured in terms of primary production at fixed prices per employee was 11.3 percent more than last year. Productivity achieved during the same number of working hours as last year was 9.6 percent more.

Agriculture [subhead]

This year's losses to winter crops were much lower than last year, and also lower than average losses over the period 1981 to 1986. Losses in grain plantations amounted to 0.6 percent and losses in rape and turnip plantations 2.3 percent of the total area of the relevant plantations. The long-lasting lack of water in the soil during spring made the germination of crops more difficult, as a result of which spring crops were poorer and the growth of winter crops and vegetables was hampered. Although the June rain partly improved crops, even so the state of winter and spring grain, sugar beets, and vegetables was worse than last year, and worse than the average state of these crops during the last 5 years.

The rape crop was considered similar to last year's. The potato crop is somewhat better this year.

The vegetable crop is considered worse, with the exception of cucumbers and tomatoes. The strawberry crop was much lower than last year's, but higher crops of other fruits are expected. It is believed that less hay was harvested than last year.

There was a considerable rise in the pig population in the first half of this year, but the cattle population continued to fall.

The domestic animal population in June 1988 was as follows:

Item	Thousands	June 1987 equals 100
Cattle	10,321.9	98.1
incl. cows	4,805.6	97.3
Pigs	19,606.0	105.7
Piglets up to 3 months	7,461.4	109.2
Shoats 3-6 months	5,733.0	106.6
Gilts for breeding	2,040.7	104.6
incl. gilts in farrow	1,149.2	101.6
Porkers, bacon pigs, and other types	4,370.9	99.7
Sheep	4,375.2	92.3

The total value (in fixed prices) of agricultural produce procured in the first half of 1988 was 5 percent more than in the first half of last year.

The value of agricultural produce (in current prices) procured by the state was about Z1,100 billion, about 73 percent more than last year.

Procurement of grain for consumption purposes between July 1987 and June 1988 was 5.4 million tonnes, 5.2 percent more than last year.

The procurement of basic animal produce during the first half of the year was as follows:

Item	Absolute figures	First 6 Months of 1987 equals 100
Butcher livestock in terms of warm-slaughter meat and fat (in thousands of tonnes	1,163.2	99.4
incl. Beef	336.6	101.1
incl. Pork	684.6	99.9
incl. Poultry	118.7	100.8
Milk (millions of liters)	5,220.5	103

Between July 1987 and June 1988, sales of rich feed amounted to 5 million tonnes, 5.2 percent more than last year. In the first half of this year, sales of this feed amounted to 2.4 million tonnes, 3.6 percent less than last year. At the same time, stocks of feed in trade outlets increased.

Farming used about 3.6 million tonnes of pure synthetic fertilizer for the 1988 harvest, 6.6 percent more than for the 1987 harvest. This means that about 194 kg of fertilizer were used per hectare, which is similar to the amount foreseen in the Central Annual Plan.

Stocks of synthetic fertilizer in warehouses of the Peasant Self-Aid Rural Cooperative at the end of June amounted to 579,000 tonnes, 132.2 percent above last year's very low quantity.

Sales of lime fertilizer amounted to 485,000 tonnes, 7.1 percent more than last year.

Stocks of lime fertilizer in warehouses of the Peasant Self-Aid Rural Cooperative on 30 June 1988 amounted to 86,000 tonnes, 6.3 percent more than on 30 June 1987.

The supply of plant protection agents to agriculture continued to improve. Domestic and imported supplies thereof (containing active ingredients) amounted to about 14,100 tonnes, about 30 percent more than last year.

Forestry [subhead]

In the first half of 1988, state forestry enterprises produced 12.6 million cubic meters of timber, 2.1 percent more than last year, which includes 2.5 million cubic meters of timber gained as a result of essential felling to counteract tree disease, which is about 21 percent less than last year. Some 9.8 million cubic meters of timber were taken from the forests, 4.9 percent more than last year. The timber that was taken from the forests accounted for 78.1 percent of all the timber produced, compared with 76 percent last year.

Some 140,000 hectares of forest were treated to combat pests, compared with 43,000 hectares last year. This increase was mainly caused by greater numbers of the pest panolis flammea. This insect attacked about 132,000 hectares of pine forest, especially in the voivodships of Bialystok, Gdansk, Olsztyn, and Torun. The area of forest affected by air pollution was over 800,000 hectares, 10 percent of the country's total area of forest.

In the first half of 1988, 67,800 hectares of forest were renewed, of which state forestry enterprises renewed about 58,000 hectares, an amount similar to last year.

Transportation [subhead]

Socialized transportation enterprises shipped 568.3 million tonnes of goods, 8 percent more than last year. There were increased shipments in all types of transportation.

Polish State Railways shipped 213.1 million tonnes of goods, 3.1 percent more than last year. Goods shipments amounted to 49.3 percent of the planned amount; last year goods shipments were 48.2 percent of the planned amount.

Some 118 km of track were electrified during the first half of 1988, bringing the total length of electrified standard-gauge track on 30 June 1988 to 10,100 km, 41.5 percent of the total length of track in Poland.

Some 4,400 standard-gauge goods wagons were delivered, including 3,000 with four axles. Four thousand wagons were written off, including 3,600 two-axle goods wagons.

Goods shipments by road during the first half of 1988 amounted to 311.6 million tonnes, 11.4 percent more than last year, whereby shipments by public road transport increased by 5.2 percent and shipments by specialized transport by 12.6 percent. Goods shipments by public and specialized road transport were 49.9 percent of the planned amount, compared with 45.6 percent last year. Public and specialized road transport enterprises and cooperatives operated an average of 101,800 trucks and tractors daily, 2.3 percent less than last year.

Some 6.9 million tonnes were shipped by inland waterways, 23.8 percent more than last year.

Some 15.8 million tonnes were shipped by sea, 8.7 percent more than last year. The total tonnage of the Polish maritime transportation fleet on 30 June 1988 was 4.2 million DWT, 3 percent more than at the end of 1987.

Some 25.2 million tonnes of goods were handled at commercial ports, 8.9 percent more than last year.

Some 1,789,400,000 passengers were carried by socialized public transportation, 3.2 percent more than last year. Some 2.5 percent more passengers used Polish State Railways and 3.6 percent more used the State Bus Enterprise.

Communications [subhead]

The services of basic communications systems reached a value of Z139.6 billion, about 11 percent more in terms of fixed prices than last year.

The number of telephone subscribers on 30 June 1988 was 2,850,500, which is 76,100 or 2.7 percent more than last year.

Foreign Trade [chapter head]

Trade turnover was considerably higher than in the first half of last year. Classified into areas of payments and calculated in terms of current prices, it was as follows:

	Absolute figures			First half of 1987 equals 100	
item	exports	imports	balance	exports	imports
total in billions of zlotys	2,536	2,171	plus 365	187.3 (a)	186.4 (a)
first payments area in millions of rubles	5,513	5,221	plus 292	111.4	106.9
second payments area in millions of dollars	3,961	3,299	plus 662	121.5	128.5

(a) Increases in foreign currency exchange rates against the zloty have a major effect on these indicators. Trade was conducted using the following average rates: In the first half of 1987, R1 equals Z111.6; $1 equals Z237.4. In the first half of 1988, R1 equals Z177.3; $1 equals Z386.2.

The level of exports and imports in terms of fixed prices compared with the first half of 1987 was as follows:

Item	exports	imports
	first half of 1986 equals 100	
total in billions of zlotys	113.1	115.7
first payments area in millions of rubles	111.3	120.6
second payments area in millions of U.S. dollars	114.8	111.6

Concerning the first area of payments, 1988 Central Annual Plan fulfillment was 48.4 percent in the case of exports, and 47.9 percent in the case of imports. Last year, these percentages were 45.2 and 44.7 percent respectively. There was a trade surplus of R292 million, which is 58.4 percent of the planned figure, compared to a trade surplus of 65 million last year. The terms of the trade indicator, showing the ratio between changes in the prices of exported goods and changes in the prices of imported goods, was favorable as far as the first area of payments was concerned, and amounted to 104.5 percent, compared to 104.9 percent last year.

Debts in socialist currency rose from R6.6 billion at the end of December 1987 to R6.9 billion at the end of June 1988.

Concerning trade with the second area of payments, 1988 Central Annual Plan fulfillment was 52.8 percent in the case of exports and 52.4 percent in the case of imports, compared to 46 percent and 43.9 percent last year respectively. The trade surplus of $662 million was $30 million less than last year's and was 55.2 percent of the planned trade surplus. The prices of imports from the second area of payments rose more than the prices of exports from it. The terms of the trade indicator was unfavorable, and amounted to 99.3 (last year it was 106.3).

Debts in capitalist currency fell from $39.2 billion at the end of December 1987 to $38 billion at the end of June 1988, mainly as a result of the rise in the dollar in relation to other currencies.

Compared to the first half of last year, imports for investment purposes in terms of fixed prices rose by 23.5 percent, imports for market purposes rose by 14.3 percent and imports for market purposes rose by 14.2 percent.

There were also changes to the structure of trade. A greater percentage of products of the metal industry was exported (a rise from 7.6 percent to 8.2 percent of total exports), a greater percentage of products of the chemical industry (a rise from 10.7 to 10.9 percent), a greater percentage of products of the timber and paper industries (a rise from 2.1 to 2.5 percent), a greater percentage of products of the light industry (a rise from 6.1 to 6.6 percent), and a greater percentage of products of the construction industry (a rise from 4.3 to 4.6 percent). A smaller percentage of products of the electrical industry was exported (a fall from 42.2 percent to 41 percent of total exports), and a smaller percentage of products of agriculture and the food industry (a fall from 12.7 percent to 11.5 percent). The percentage of fuel and energy exports out of total exports remained unchanged (11.6 percent).

Exports of pit-coal in the first half of 1988 amounted to 15.7 million tonnes, 1.3 million tonnes or 9.4 percent more than last year.

More electrical goods were imported (a rise from 33.2 percent to 35.4 percent of total imports), and more fuels and energy (a rise from 23.5 percent to 23.9 percent of total imports). Imports of products of the chemical and

light industries were somewhat higher. There were less imports of agricultural produce and food (a fall from 13.7 to 12.2 percent of total imports). There was a slight increase in imports of metals, minerals, timber, and paper.Imports of grain and rich feed in the first half of 1988 amounted to 2,778,000 tonnes, 6.5 percent less than last year.

Some 27 percent of imports (payable in dollars) from the second area of payments were paid for out of the funds of enterprises and organizations, and chiefly out of the foreign currency grants earned by exports. Last year this percentage was 24. The credit balance in foreign currency accounts at the end of May 1988 amounted to $416 million.

At the end of June, 990 units held concessions for foreign trade activity, including 324 enterprises and legal persons and 584 physical persons. In the first half of last year, 393 units obtained such concessions.

Investments [chapter head]

According to preliminary data, investment outlay in the socialized economy, in terms of current prices, amounted to Z1,924 billion, of which outlay on construction and refurbishing was Z1,060 billion and outlay for the purchase of machinery and equipment Z750 billion. In terms of fixed prices, outlay was about 13 percent higher than last year, whereby outlay on construction and refurbishing was 12 percent higher and outlay on machinery and equipment 15 percent higher. Over 50 percent of total outlay was spent on enterprise development projects.

In the state economy, the performance of 5,900 investment tasks worth a total of Z580 billion was started this year. State enterprises started 4,100 tasks worth a total of Z443 billion. Last year, 4,600 tasks worth a total of Z323 billion were started, and state enterprises started 3,200 tasks worth a total of Z228 billion.

Over Z8 trillion are needed in order to complete the current building investments program. Outlay on investment tasks that were subsequently frozen up to 30 June 1988 in terms of current prices was about Z4 trillion, against Z3 trillion at the end of June 1987.

Completed central investments included the following: the Dobrzen-Trebaczew power line (108 km), further extraction facilities (6.4 million tons of brown coal a year) at the Belchatow mine, further production facilities (90,000 tonnes of rolled-mill goods a year) at the Marceli Nowotko Steelworks in Ostrow Swietokrzyski, and a paper machine (40,500 tonnes of packing paper and cartons a year) at the cellulose-paper plant in Kwidzyn.

The number and usable space of apartments completed in the first half of 1988 was as follows:

item	apartments		usable space	
	in thousands	first half of 1987 equals 100	thousands of square meters	first half of 1987 equals 100
total	65	105.1	4,582	107.7
state construction	47.6	102.5	2,739	104.4
communal construction	2.8	128.2	151	133.4
cooperative construction	32.5	101.7	1,875	104.7
factory construction	12.3	100.3	713	99.1
private construction	17.4	112.7	1,843	113.2

Progress in implementing the Central Annual Plan (after changes) concerning the completion and availability for occupancy of housing amounted to 32.9 percent altogether, to 35.6 percent in the socialized construction sector, and to 27.3 percent in the private construction sector. The percentage of completed apartments available for occupancy during the first half of 1987 in relation to the results for the entire year was 32.9 percent: 35.4 percent in the socialized construction sector, and 25.6 percent in the private construction sector.

The average usable floor space of a completed apartments available for occupancy during the first half of this year was 57.6 square meters in the socialized sector (1 square meter larger than during the same period last year) and 106 square meters in the private sector (0.5 square meters larger).

At the end of the first half of this year, 159,700 apartments were still under construction in the socialized construction sector, that is, 0.8 percent more than during the same period last year.

During the first half of this year, hospitals were provided with 690 additional beds (compared with 268 beds during the same period last year), of which 250 were for the newly completed voivodship hospital in Rzeszow. In addition, the Polish Mother's Health Center was provided with a gynecology and obstetrics unit.

Other completed social investment projects included 49 clinics and health centers with a total of 381 examination rooms (during the first half of last year 44 such facilities with a total of 459 examination rooms became available for use), 218 places in social welfare homes (compared with 233 places during the first half of last year), and 370 places in nurseries (compared with 946 places during the first half of last year).

The Money-Market Situation [chapter head]

The characteristic features of the money-market situation during the first half of this year were a high increase in personal income compared with the first half of 1987,

a significant increase in the retail prices of goods and services, and an unsatisfied demand for many goods, particularly foodstuffs.According to the Polish National Bank, personal income during the first half of 1988 amounted to Z7,267 billion and was Z2,829 billion higher than during the same period last year, which represents an increase of 63.7 percent. Pay in socialized units of the economy rose by 53.1 percent, and social benefit payments rose by 67.4 percent. Income from sales of agricultural produce under centralized procurement—used for investment, production, and consumption—rose by 79.9 percent. Similarly, income in the non-socialized, non-agricultural economy derived from goods and services provided to the socialized economy were 94.1 percent higher than during the first half of last year.

Personal expenditure during the first half of this year amounted to Z6,427 billion, which represents a 56.8-percent increase compared with the same period last year. The population spent Z5,020 billion on goods from socialized economy outlets, that is, 56.2 percent more than during the first half of last year, and expenditure on services provided by socialized units amounted to Z771 billion, which represents an increase of 60.9 percent.

At the end of June this year, personal financial reserves (savings, and reserves held in cash) amounted to Z4,615 billion and were Z1,043 higher than at the end of June last year, which represents an increase of 28.9 percent. Savings rose by Z556 billion and amounted to Z2,858 billion, which represents an increase of 24.1 percent. Reserves held in the form of cash rose by Z488 billion to Z1,757 billion, which represents an increase of 38.5 percent.

During the first half of 1988, personal financial reserves rose by Z840 billion. The share of the increase represented by reserves held in cash rose from 54.6 percent at the end of the first half of 1987 to 63.8 percent at the end of the first half of 1988 and, at the same time, the share represented by savings declined from 45.4 percent to 36.2 percent.

The value of retail sales of consumer and non-consumer goods sold by socialized economy outlets at current retail prices amounted to Z5,383 billion and was 55.3 percent higher than during the first half of last year. The value of sales of foodstuffs rose by 50.3 percent, those of alcoholic beverages by 56.5 percent, and those of non-foodstuffs by 57.6 percent.

Compared with the first half of last year, the share of the total value of retail sales represented by foodstuffs fell from 30.7 percent to 29.8 percent, whereas the share of sales represented by non-foodstuffs rose from 55.8 percent to 56.6 percent, and that of alcoholic beverages from 13.5 percent to 13.6 percent.

Compared with the first half of last year, retail prices of consumer and non-consumer goods and services rose by 51 percent: Consumer goods and services rose by 49.4 percent, and non-consumer goods and services by 60.2 percent.

Compared with the first half of last year, retail sales, in terms of fixed prices, by socialized economy outlets rose by about 3 percent; sales of foodstuffs rose by about 3 percent, those of non-foodstuffs rose by about 4 percent, and sales of alcoholic beverages fell by about 1 percent.

The high increase in personal income has increased demand for goods and services. The supply of many goods during the first half of this year was inadequate in relation to demand. Supplies of flour, sugar, animal fats, butter, eggs, milk, and cream were in line with market needs. Rationing of chocolate ceased on 1 March of this year. There were inadequate supplies of, among other things, fish, vegetable fats, mature cheeses, cottage cheeses, and full-fat powdered milk for infants.

In the non-foodstuff category of goods, there continued to be shortages of many consumer durables—this applies to furniture, automobiles, and television sets in particular—as well as of fabrics, clothing and footwear, and building materials. There was an improvement in the supply of some toiletries and detergents.

Supplies of selected categories of goods were as follows:

item	metric unit of measure	absolute figures	first half of 1987 equals 100
meat, poultry, products, innards	thousands of tonnes	862	100.9
fish and fish products	thousands of tonnes	95.8	97.2
edible fats:			
—Animal	thousands of tonnes	59.4	100.7
—Oil	thousands of tonnes	38.8	114.1
—Margarine	thousands of tonnes	85	109.1
—Butter			
thousands of tonnes	130	98.4	
Milk	millions of liters	1,183	102.9
Mature and processed cheeses	thousands of tonnes	53.8	99
Cottage cheeses	thousands of tonnes	148	104.6
Creams	thousands of tonnes	127	101.5

item	metric unit of measure	absolute figures	first half of 1987 equals 100
meat, poultry, products, innards	thousands of tonnes	862	100.9
fish and fish products	thousands of tonnes	95.8	97.2
Wheat flour	Thousands of tonnes	243	92.7
Buckwheat	Thousands of tonnes	81.5	102.6
Pasta	Thousands of tonnes	41.6	104.1
Sugar	thousands of tonnes	466	98.7
Sweets (excluding chocolate)	thousands of tonnes	80.3	98.7
Chocolate and chocolate products	thousands of tonnes	28.3	138.2
Clear and flavored vodkas (expressed as 100 proof)	millions of liters	73.8	100.5
Wines and mead	millions of liters	152	98.2
Beer	millions of liters	575	108.9
Cigarettes	billions	46.5	93.4
Fabrics			
—cotton and cotton-like	thousands of kilometers	66.2	92.8
—wool and wool-like	thousands of kilometers	22.1	89.2
—silk and silk-like	thousands of kilometers	37.6	114.5
Knitwear products	millions of units	136	92.5
Hosiery products	millions of pairs	135	97.2
—women's tights	millions of pairs	47.6	103.7
Overcoats	millions	6.8	103.4
Underwear	millions	13.5	89.9
Total footwear	millions of pairs	69.8	107.7
—made from leather and man-made materials	millions of pairs	39.7	104.6
Aluminium and enameled kitchen and household vessels	millions	21.2	113
Stainless steel cutlery	millions	17.3	127.7
Refrigerators and freezers	thousands	508	110.7
—freezers	thousands	157	119.5
Washing-machines and spin-dryers	thousands	632	99.3
—automatic washing-machines	thousands	269	110
Sewing machines	thousands	162	96.5
Receivers:			
—radio	thousands	902	100
—black-and-white television	thousands	441	104.2
—color television	thousands	210	100.3
Radio-tape units	thousands	264	107.9
Tape-recorders and dictaphones	thousands	134	73.3
Passenger automobiles	thousands	92.1	101.9
Bicycles	thousands	760	105.2
Detergents	thousands of tonne	135	109.9
Toilet and special soaps	thousands of tonnes	22.2	119.4
Bituminous coal and coal briquettes	thousands of tonnes	15,439	104.3
Cement	Thousands of tonnes	2,869	98.8
Lime	Thousands of tonnes	362	118.6
Walling materials (in terms of solid red bricks)	millions	2,296	111.9

At the end of June this year, the value of stocks of goods held by the socialized trade sector (in warehouses and retail outlets), in term of current prices, amounted to about Z1,600 billion and was about 31 percent higher than at the end of June last year. Foodstuffs accounted for 17.9 percent of the total value of stocks, alcoholic beverages for 4.7 percent, and non-foodstuffs for 77.4 percent.

In view of the price increases introduced during the first half of this year, it is assumed that the real value of stocks in the retail trade sector will be lower than a year ago. The increase in stocks was significantly lower than the increase in retail sales. The supply of many goods, particularly consumer durables, although higher than a year ago, was not large enough to satisfy demand.

The Population's Living Conditions [chapter head]

Wages [subhead]

Average monthly wages per employee in the socialized economy, comprising remuneration for work performed during normal working hours and overtime—including payment for work performed on Saturday holidays—and including supplements to offset price increases, profit distribution payments, payments made from cooperative surpluses, and payments made from enterprise award funds, are estimated to have amounted to about Z43,500 and increased by about Z16,000, that is 57.5 percent, compared with the first half of last year.

Average monthly wages in the material production sphere rose by 58.8 percent and those in the non-material production sphere by 51.6 percent. The level of average wages in the non-material production sphere, in relation to wages in the production sphere, fell from about 85 percent at the end of the first half of last year to about 81 percent during the first half of this year.

Average monthly wages in the five basic sectors of the economy—industry, construction, transportation, communications, and trade—amounted to Z46,300 during the first half of this year, and were 58.8 percent higher than during the first half of last year. Average monthly wages in these sectors during June amounted to Z47,300 and were 40.1 percent higher than in January. Average monthly wages in the socialized economy were as follows during 1987:

	Thousands of zlotys	First half of 1987 equals 100
Total:	43.5	157.5
Industry	49.8	158.9
—mining	77	152.6
—manufacturing	45.6	160.3
Construction	48.6	159.8
Transportation	41.1	152.6
Communications	36	158.3
Trade	38	162.3

Social Benefits [subhead]

The average number of persons in receipt of retirement or other pensions (excluding individual farmers) amounted to 5,420,300 and was 88,800 higher than during the first half of last year. The total value of retirement pensions (excluding pensions paid to farmers) amounted to Z813.4 billion, which is Z303.2 billion higher than during the same period last year and represents a 59.4-percent increase.

The average monthly pension (excluding pensions paid to farmers) amounted to Z23,200, that is, it was Z7,900 higher than during the first half of last year (an increase of 51.9 percent) and was 53.2 percent of the average monthly wage (during the first half of last year it was 55.2 percent of the average monthly wage). Specific retirement and other pension were as follows:

—the average monthly retirement pension was Z26,000 (an increase of 48.2 percent),

—the average monthly disability pension was Z20,400 (an increase of 53.3 percent),

—the average monthly family pension was Z20,400 (an increase of 55.8 percent).

Payments of retirement and other pensions to 1,264,400 individual farmers amounted to Z131.9 billion. Compared with the first half of last year, the number of individual farmers receiving pensions has risen by 7.4 percent and payments of pensions rose by 62.5 percent. The average monthly pensions amounted to Z16,400 and was Z5,200 higher (an increase of 46.3 percent) compared with the first half of last year.

Social insurance benefit payments (excluding sickness benefit payments made from workplace funds and benefits paid to individual farmers) totaled Z265.7 billion, which represents an increase of 99.! percent, compared with the first half of last year. Payments of family benefits and benefits for the care of sick people amounted to Z205.5 billion (an increase of 125 percent), maternity benefits totaled Z15.5 billion (an increase of 43.2 percent), benefits for upbringing purposes totaled Z10 billion (an increase of 54 percent), and attendance benefits totaled 13.5 billion (an increase of 37.3 percent).

Living Costs [subhead]

It is estimated that, compared with the first half of last year, during the first half of this year the cost-of-living indexes for families of persons employed in the socialized economy rose by about 50 percent, those for individual farmers rose by about 49 percent, and those for persons in receipt of pensions rose by about 51 percent. Cost-of-living indexes—calculated as set down in the National Socioeconomic Plan, that is, excluding increases in the prices of alcoholic beverages and tobacco products—rose by about 41 percent in the case of households of persons employed in the socialized economy. The cost of living for households of individual farmer rose by about 37 percent and by about 48 percent in the case of households of persons in receipt of pensions.

Compared with the first half of this year, retail prices of goods and services rose by an average of 49.4 percent during the first half of this year. Prices of goods rose by 48.8 percent: Prices of foodstuffs rose by 46.1 percent, those of alcoholic beverages by 57.2 percent, and those of non-foddstuffs by 48.5 percent. Prices of services rose by 52.7 percent.

Prices of goods in the socialized retail trade sector rose by 48.5 percent, and those in the non-socialized retail trade sector by 51.6 percent (prices of farm produce obtained at markets rose by 51 percent). Prices of consumer services in the socialized economy were about 52.2 percent higher, and those in the non-socialized economy were about 53.9 percent higher.

Retail prices of goods and services in June were 39.7 percent higher than in January: If one excludes changes in the prices of alcoholic beverages and tobacco products, the increase is one of 32.9 percent.

The increase in nominal wages, viewed in relation to living costs, was 1.06 during the first half of this year, or 1.13 if the increases in the prices of alcoholic beverages and tobacco products are excluded. Market disequilibrium and shortages of many goods mean that comparing nominal wages with the cost-of-living indices is not a completely reliable means of determining the level of real wages.

Expenditure on Social and Cultural Services [subhead]

State Budget expenditure on social and cultural services was as follows:

	Z billions	First half of 1987 Equals 100
Total	985.4	145
Education	350	149.3
Higher Education	86.5	119.9
Culture and the arts	91.1	194.7
—subsidies for the cultural development fund	90.7	194.5
Health care and social welfare	435.7	138.9
Sport, tourism and leisure	22.1	178.8

Education and Upbringing [subhead]

During the school year 1987/88, 1,415,000 children, that is, 51.2 percent of children between the ages of 3 and 6 (the figure for the previous school year was 51.1 percent) received preschool education. Preschool education was provided for 97.1 percent of children in the 6-year-old age group.

Schools of all types were attended by 7,567,00. Elementary schools were attended by 5,134,000. Schools above the elementary level, but providing less than a full secondary education, were attended by 849,000. Secondary schools and post-secondary level schools were attended by about 268,000 pupils (that is, by about 10 percent more). The number of graduates of higher educational establishments during the first half of 1988 amounted to about 33,000, that is, about 4 percent less than during the first half of 1987.

Grants were received by 138,000 students attending higher schools, that is, 53.6 percent of full-time students.

Health Care [subhead]

There were 77,200 doctors in employment at the end of June, that is, 20.4 for every 10,000 members of the population (the corresponding figure for the first half of last year was 20).

There were 214,300 hospital beds in general hospitals at the end of June, which represents an increase of 600 compared with the end of June last year. There were 56.6 beds for every 10,000 members of the population (the corresponding figure for the first half of 1987 was 56.7)

There were 3,307 health care centers at the end of June, that is, 17 more than at the end of the first half of last year.

There were 106,900 places in nurseries and 62,200 places in social welfare homes. Compared with the end of June last year, the number of places in nurseries increased by 601, and the number of places in social welfare homes by 839.

Culture and the Arts [subhead]

During the first half of 1987 publishing houses published 2,600 books and brochures, of which 116.7 million copies were printed. Compared with the first half of last year, the number of titles declined by 360 (12.2 percent) and the total number of copies printed fell by 2.6 percent.

Fifty-two newspapers were published in print runs totaling 1,124.3 million copies, that is, 42.8 million or 3.7 percent fewer than during the first half of last year.

At the end of the first half of this year there were 10.9 million radio subscribers and 9.9 million television subscribers, which represents an increase of 3.1 percent and 1.8 percent compared with the first half of last year.

DM1.4 Billion Cost for Exit of Ethnic Germans

AU0408120788 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 4 Aug 88 p 1

[Olaf Ihlau report: "Bonn Wants To Buy Off All Ethnic German Romanians"]

[Text] Bucharest/Bonn, 3 August—The FRG Government wants to accelerate the emigration of ethnic German Romanians. As SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG learned in Bucharest, negotiations to increase the emigration quota are currently being held. In exchange, Romania expects Bonn to pay billions of marks.

So far about 12,000 people have been permitted to emigrate each year. Romania's state and party leader Nicolae Ceausescu now says that a subsequent regulation to continue the expired agreement, which he had concluded with then Chancellor Helmut Schmidt in 1978, depends on the payment of more "head money" and some political conditions. According to estimates by diplomats, Bonn's buying off about 180,000 ethnic German Romanians would cost at least DM1.4 billion.

FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who had a vehement discussion with Ceausescu in Bucharest last December, confirmed in a talk with SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG that new negotiations are taking place, but categorically refused to discuss any details. The original quotas of the agreement on exit permits, which expired at the end of June, have been "continuously observed" by the Romanians to date. Concerning the basic problems of the accelerated buying off of the ethnic German Romanians, which is criticized by some elements of the Evangelical Church in Transylvania, Genscher said: "We do not encourage anyone, and we do not discourage anyone."

It is, however, known that both Genscher and Chancellor Helmut Kohl feel obligated to shorten the process of emigration, since the situation of the German minority in the Romanian police state is becoming increasingly complicated because of the rising pressure for assimilation. The agreement concluded between Bonn and Bucharest in 1978 has made it possible for 100,000 ethnic German Romanians to emigrate to the FRG. For this the FRG Government paid the Romanians "head money" of DM8,000—thus, DM100 million per year.

At present there are still about 230,000 Germans in the Carpathian area: mainly the Evangelical Transylvanian Saxons, who came to this area 800 years ago, then the Catholic Swabians in the Banat and Satu-Mare areas, and about 6,000 Evangelical "Landler" from Austria's Salzburg.

During his visit to Bucharest, Foreign Minister Genscher proposed raising the annual emigration quota to at least 30,000 and had also asked for permission to give more material and cultural aid to the Germans who decide to stay. Bonn proceeds from the premise that about 80 percent of the ethnic German Romanians, that is, about 180,000, would want to move to the FRG. According to the current regulations for "head money," this would necessitate payments of more than DM1.4 billion to Bucharest. "We know that this will cost us a lot," a member of the FRG Cabinet told SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG.

The buying-off campaign might become even more expensive, because Ceausescu seems to insist on raising the "head money." In addition, the Conducator (leader) also wants Bonn to make political concessions. Thus, Bonn should be ready for more intensive dialogue; advocate an expanded trade agreement between Romania and the EC; and the chancellor should soon pay a visit to Bucharest.

There are, however, also politicians in the FRG Government and the Bundestag who are against continuing the "man-trade" with Bucharest and call for publicly pillorying the Romanian human rights policy at international forums. This could be done together with Austria and, in particular, with socialist Hungary, which has harshly attacked the Ceausescu regime because of the chauvinist pressure on the 1.7 million Hungarians in Romania. Advocates of this tougher attitude toward Bucharest are also willing to accept that family reunification might be shelved for some time.

[Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German at 1100 GMT on 4 August reports that the "Bonn Interior Ministry partly confirmed reports by SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG" by admitting that "the FRG is holding negotiations with Bucharest on the further resettlement of ethnic German Romanians."]

PRC Delegation Visits at Invitation of CC

AU0408183788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1706 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 4/8/1988—A delegation of activists of the Chinese Communist Party, led by Yin Kesheng, member of the CC of the Chinese Communist Party, first secretary of the Qinghai Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, paid a fact-finding visit to Romania upon an invitation extended by the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party.

During the visit, the delegation had interviews for an exchange of experience at the headquarters of the CC of the RCP, as well as of a number of county party committees. The Chinese guests saw round economic and sociocultural units in the capital city and in the counties of Arges, Brasov, Covasna, Dimbovita and Mures.

At the end of their visit, the activists of the Chinese Communist Party were received by Vasile Barbulescu, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

FRG Foreign Minister Arrives in Zadar

LD0408160488 Belgrade Tanjug Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1528 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Zadar, 4 Aug (TANJUG)—FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher arrived this afternoon by plane in Zadar, where he will meet with Budimir Loncar, the federal secretary of foreign affairs.

The West German foreign minister will stay in our country 3 days. During his stay he will discuss with his host Budimir Loncar mainly bilateral relations and the most important issues of East-West relations. The main bilateral topics, it is understood, will be the Yugoslav trade deficit, the status of Yugoslav workers in West Germany, and Yugoslavia's relations with the EC.

The deficit in our commodity exchange with the FRG has almost reached $1 billion.

Montenegrin Premier Threatens Resignation

LD0508131388 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1227 GMT 5 Aug 88

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 5 (TANJUG)—Premier of the government of the Yugoslav Constituent Republic of Montenegro Vuko Vukadinovic has announced resignation of his cabinet in case the Federation does not pay the republic the dues originating from the differences between the rate of exchange of the dinar against the convertible currencies, principally the U.S. dollar.

Vukadinovic announced this in a talk with workers at the Boris Kidric Iron and Steel works in Niksic who called on the Montenegrin government seeking its intervention with federal organs so that they should receive the said dues amounting 12 billion dinars (2,730 dinars to the dollar).

Because of the country's economic crisis and with its inflation of over 170 per cent and the frequent devaluations of the dinar, the state in Yugoslavia recognizes what is called the "rate-of-exchange differences" to the firms which take up foreign credits. For maintaining the country's solvency, the foreign exchange is bought up from the firms by the National Bank of Yugoslavia, and the coverage of the rate-of-exchange differences is ensured by the federation on the basis of demands from the constituent republics and provinces. Because of the lack of funds, the Federal Government is late in meeting its obligations.

Thus only part of the obligations to the economy of Montenegro has been met. Last year this republic should have received about 100 billion dinars in the rate-of-exchange differences but no more than 55 billion dinars was paid in. For this year the federation's obligations amount to some 18 billion dinars, and Montenegro has received near under 15 billion dinars.

Calling at the republican government, workers from the Niksic Iron and Steel Works pointed out that their collective found itself without capital and in straits regarding insolvency and its own obligations. They demanded that the question of confidence in the federal government should be raised because of its not implementing its own law.

The republican government assessed that meeting the debt 180 billion dinars in the rate-of-exchange differences would mean much for the revitalization of the Montenegrin economy burdened with an adverse balance of 400 billion dinars.

Committee Informs Public on Bogataj Case

AU0408182288 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 2 Aug 88 p 2

["Statement on the Tomo Bogataj Case" by the Initiative Committee for Setting Up a Human Rights and Basic Freedoms Protection Council with the Republican Conference of the SAWP of Slovenia]

[Text] 1. The Initiative Committee for Setting Up a Human Rights and Basic Freedoms Protection Council with the Republican Conference of the SAWP of Slovenia considers that it is obliged to inform the public about its activities in the case of Tomo Bogataj, convicted by the Military Court in Sarajevo on 17 June 1988 (MLADINA No 31-32 of 29 July 1988 carried a report), after the soldier's father, Ivo Bogataj, had approached it.

2. The Committee decided, on the basis of Article 205, Section 3 of the SFRY Constitution, to address to the SFRY Presidency, as the highest organ of leadership and command of the Armed Forces in war and in peace, a submission for the protection of the constitutionality and legality regarding the activities of the organs of the Military Security Service and the military judiciary. The committee made the submission after it received reports and documents indicating the possibility that the Military Security Service or parts of it, or even individual officers in this service, extorted things from certain soldiers through impermissible threats that are punishable under Articles 190 and 191 of the Criminal Code, and turned them into political agents provocateurs through impermissible actions. The evidence suggests that an individual would be selected from a group of soldiers frightened in this way, and accused of the hostile act of hostile propaganda, and the others would serve as witnesses at subsequent trials before military courts. The protagonists in these criminal proceedings would be very careful to adhere strictly to the letter of the criminal procedure law. Statements by a number of soldiers who have completed their army service show that the truth might be different, which is also indicated by a detailed review and study of the indictments, the course of the trials, withdrawals of statements made during preliminary investigations, and obstruction of defense or even prevention of defense rights. All these indications

strongly support doubts about the constitutionality, legality, and correctness of these proceedings from the point of view of human rights and basic freedoms.

3. The committee drew the attention of the SFRY Presidency to the fact that, in view of the circumstances cited, there is a strongly based suspicion that these were cases of staged political trials and perhaps even the crudest abuses of power, which are punishable acts under Articles 174, 181, and 189 of the Criminal Code, as well as Articles 190 and 191 mentioned above.

4. The committee also informed the SFRY Presidency that some regular courts, and particularly military courts, continue to use Article 133 of the SFRY Criminal Code with a professionally inadmissible broad interpretation that allows all sorts of misuses, and is detrimental to human rights. The committee advocates a legal and professionally correct interpretation and use of the article, in accordance with the international treaty on civil and political rights.

5. Following an explicit request by Ivo Bogataj, father of Tomo Bogataj, the committee decided in favor of the method of a discreet warning, to make it possible to settle these problems within the legal institutions and within the powers that belong to the SFRY Presidency under the Constitution. On this occasion, it warned that an outbreak of public indignation may occur if such alleged activities by the military security service and the military judiciary continue. The discreet method, which yielded no result from 7 July 1988, when the letter was sent, became superfluous when the facts were published in the magazine MLADINA and the affair thus became public.

[Signed] Mojca Drcar-Murko,

for the Initiative Committee for Setting Up a Human Rights and Basic Freedoms Protection Council with the Republican Conference of the SAWP of Slovenia.

FEC Decision on Oil, Natural Gas Prices

LD0408221788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2037 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Aug (TANJUG)—The FEC tonight adopted a decision concerning the establishment of the maximum price level for oil and for oil derivatives and concerning the trade prices of these products; a decision on establishing a maximum price level for natural gas; and a decision on establishing compensation payments for road maintenance that is added to the price of oil derivatives. The decision to establish a maximum price level for oil and for oil derivatives, the statement issued by the Federal Secretariat of Information says, has virtually annulled the decision to elaborate the joint elements for establishing the prices of oil and oil derivatives, and natural gas, and of mineral lubricants adopted at the FEC session on 2 August.

In passing these measures the FEC was guided by the fact that the meeting today of the Association of the Yugoslav Oil Industry did not accept the assessment of the realistic degree of growth in oil and oil derivative prices made during an examination by the representatives of the oil ministry and by the appropriate federal organs. Although the assessment then was that a 32-percent increase in the refinery prices of oil derivatives and a 40-percent rise in the crude oil price was justified—which would have rendered possible the necessary increase in the compensation payment for road maintenance, the association meeting took the stance that prices are being increased substantially above that level with the result that on the basis of the refinery prices the retail prices should increase by 43 percent which would make it possible to set aside the anticipated amount of money for road maintenance.

By virtue of its decisions the FEC has now agreed that in keeping with the aforementioned price increase estimates crude oil prices should go up 40.92 percent, refinery oil derivatives prices by 32 percent, and retail prices of the derivatives, including 8 percent for road maintenance, should go up by 40 percent. In the interest of regular market supplies it was decided that the new prices should apply from tomorrow.

The new retail price of 86 octane gasoline will be 1,300 dinars per liter, 98 octane gasoline 1,400 dinars, and 95 octane lead-free gasoline 1,480 dinars per liter. In the case of diesel fuel the price will be 1,150 dinars for D-1, 1,120 dinars for D-2, and 1,110 dinars for D-3 per liter. The price of domestic fuel oil will be 540 dinars per liter.

The FEC has also altered the decision on the conditions for the import of consumer goods in 1988. The changes improve the conditions for the import of consumer goods from developing countries within the framework of barter.

The FEC established a platform for the talks which Milos Milosavljevic, FEC vice president, will conduct during his forthcoming visit to Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah and Sudan for the report for the working meeting between Federal Secretary of Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar and Yeoryios Iakovou, foreign minister of the Republic of Cyprus, during the latter's stopover in Belgrade on 7 August this year.

Price Hikes Alarm Workers

LD0408160588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1416 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Prilep, 4 Aug (TANJUG)—The latest wave of price increases has alarmed the citizens and working people of Prilep. Several basic organizations of associated labor today turned to the Municipal Assembly and other socio-political organizations with the demand that measures should be urgently adopted to prevent raging price increases which reflect most directly on the already low standard of living.

Being very concerned and rather alarmed, 200 workers of the Crni Bor forest-timber industrial combine in Prilep held a rally, vigorously demanding that price increases be prevented and a normal life for the workers ensured.

Inflation To Increase

LD0408154488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1140 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 4 Aug (TANJUG)—The higher prices of cooking oil, type-850 flour, bread, energy, and the basic infrastructural services whose prices are formed on the basis of the so-called joint elements will "push up" inflation by 6.3 percent. The cost of living will rise by approximately the same amount. This was revealed by FEC representatives today during their press conference in the Federal Secretariat of Finance. [passage omitted]

FEC Vice President Zemljaric on Economic Trends

AU0408133688 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jul 88 p 6

[Dragan Bujosevic report on speech by Janez Zemljaric, FEC vice president, to the joint session of the two SFRY Assembly chambers held on 28 July in Belgrade: "A Decisive Move Into the Market"]

[Text] "We are decisively moving into a market economy" and "we cannot overcome the crisis only through the economic policy but we need essential systemic, developmental, and structural reforms." These were the two basic points and also the points of departure for the introductory speech by Janez Zemljaric, FEC vice president, to the delegates of both the SFRY Assembly chambers which dealt with "economic trends in the first half of the year."

These changes began with the federal government's "May package of measures." The package also enjoys the support of international creditors and OECD experts because of its "intensity and courage" but it does not offer overnight salvation, said Zemljaric and added that in order to eliminate the troubles in which Yugoslavia finds itself, it needs "persistent long-term efforts and suitable reform changes."

Briefly describing the positive consequences of the May measures (increased exports, greater foreign currency earnings from tourism, the good harvest, and an improvement in the balance of payments and balance of trade) and their negative consequences (the aggravated conditions of economic operations, the increase in inflation and financial imbalance, and deterioration in the position of the Montenegro, Macedonia, and Kosovo economies), Zemljaric concluded that it was necessary to supplement them as soon as possible and that they should not, of course, be abandoned. This is because the aim of these measures is to revive export production, change the technology and structure of the Yugoslav economy, financially consolidate the economy, and provide enough money for social activities and welfare programs.

Zemljaric then analyzed certain indicators of the state of the economy and some of its parts.

Inflation: The rise in prices in the first 6 months was above the expected figure. Prices jumped in June in particular because of the rise in prices in the infrastructure and agriculture and because of an increase in prices of services controlled by communes and towns. The rise in July was a little more moderate (11.2 percent), but in the next few months, "a more dynamic" rise in prices (in agriculture and the infrastructure) is expected which will be more moderate by the end of the year. The FEC will deal with prices with purely economic measures, so that it will thus "expand the range and intensity" of their effect. At the same time, everyone is called on to "increase prices in a responsible way."

Pay: There are problems in the implementation of the law on pay "because of the short period of time for adjustments, the low base rates for last year, and insufficient respect for the different results of business activities".... The FEC will advocate "solutions which will provide more of an incentive for enterprises which achieve good results and will increase the motivation of workers, and at the same time, the FEC will insist on reducing the rate of taxes and contributions from gross personal incomes."

Industrial production: In the first half of the year, industrial production was lower than last year and lower than planned for this year (the planned increase was 2 percent), however, there were signs in May and June of a halt to this fall.

Exports, exchange rates, foreign exchange: Up until 25 July, exports were up by 14.4 percent (18.2 percent on the hard currency market) and imports were up by 1.2 percent. It is assessed that by the end of the year, exports could stay on an unplanned high level, which will also be supported by several new joint export programs, especially in the area of agriculture. Turnover on the foreign exchange market from 30 May to 25 July amounted to $1,764,000,000. The country's foreign exchange reserves have increased by $796 million, of which $386 million are new loans. Up until 26 July, currency exchange offices bought $742 million (last year this figure was only $222 million for this period).

Agriculture: So far, almost 6 million tonnes of wheat have been harvested and almost 4 million tonnes have been purchased. Both the harvest and the purchase are above the plan. A satisfactory yield from the crops sown in the spring is also expected. Because of the increased agricultural production, agreements are being prepared on milk subsidies and allowances for stock breeding and land improvement....

Credit-monetary policy: If prices continue to rise, then the credit-monetary policy will have to be more restrictive. In the first half of the year, it was generally within the planned limits, but the increase in the money supply was greater than envisaged. The increase in the money held by the non-economy and the population is greater than envisaged. The level of the primary money issue is considerably above that expected. The problem of liquidity cannot be solved by "pumping in new money" (this would stimulate inflation) but enterprises must free themselves of expensive loans and stocks and must speed up their own turnover of capital. A more regular payment of domestic liabilities (foreign exchange losses, oil imports, and the repayment of financial dues) but also of foreign liabilities, is also needed. The FEC will also propose measures to improve the liquidity and the economic position of Montenegro, Kosovo, and Macedonia.

Expenditure, budgets: The funds allocated in 6 months for general and joint spending are greater than planned, however many difficulties are arising in the financing of certain social activities. "This shows that the question of the rationalization and reduction of social expenses has not been dealt with more seriously." "The increase in funds for budgets is also worrying because the economy's share in the distribution of income continues to be falling and contributions from personal incomes are increasing." The FEC will soon put forward proposals here which should reduce associated labor contributions for social activities, but this will, for example, also lead to an increase in health service charges.

[The following two passages appear boxed within the body of the item]

An Increase in Production [subhead]

This is what Janez Zemljaric says has been done or will be done in order to revive production: Negotiations have ended with the World Bank over a loan of $120 million for new export business. Negotiations are coming to an end over another loan for structural changes in the economy (up to $350 million), of which $150 million could be used by the end of the year. An agreement with the USSR on the reconstruction and construction of 25 investment projects (worth about $560 million) has been initialled. Considerable dinar and foreign currency funds will be provided for the construction and reconstruction of roads. Several important production programs "will be initiated" with several new joint investment projects with foreign partners and by converting some of the foreign debt into dinars. Within the framework of the Strategy for Technological Development, a considerable shift is expected due to about 50 projects in which 250 associated labor organizations are participating. The dinar funds which will not be used to repay the rescheduled debt ($2 billion this year) will be used to strengthen the economy and exports. There will be a freer importation of equipment for small businesses and the founding of new units is expected. The program for sorting out the debt inside the country is being completed. Solutions for the reconstruction and modernization of the railroads are being prepared. We are also working on a full payment of liabilities from clearing account countries and developing countries.

The Welfare Program [subhead]

Janez Zemljaric assessed that the meetings protesting at personal incomes were generally justified and said that a welfare program would be set up in the Federation. The draft of this program envisages that those personal incomes guaranteed by the Constitution, must be unconditionally paid. These must also be provided by enterprises which are currently in crisis, but whose programs promise better days. Guaranteed personal incomes will be increased. Social security will also be ensured for workers whose enterprises will be going into liquidation. Conditions for entitlement to pension supplements will be made easier. The payment of social assistance and child allowance will be regular and student loans will be regularly adjusted.

Money for this will be provided by redistributing gross income in favor of personal incomes, reducing social overheads, increasing the taxes on luxury items and on personal incomes above a certain level, and introducing solidarity fund collections.

Stipe Suvar Criticizes Workers' Strikes

AU0408193288 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jul 88 p 5

["Highlights" from Stipe Suvar's concluding speech at the session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium on 13 July]

[Text] The workers' discontent with the present situation in our society is also the most important question for the LC. No topic is more important in the developmental, political, and, if you will, moral sense. For all our other topics and all our problems are concentrated within this, like in a focus. This involves the position of the workers class of Yugoslavia in all its organizations of associated labor, its possibilities in work and self-management, to attain higher personal incomes, and to be more creative, just as we all have to be more creative.

We need analyses, we need a more profound assessment of the events connected with workers dissatisfaction and workers strikes, and we need an elaboration and adoption of tasks in this sphere by the LC basic organizations, and all the way up to the LCY Central Committee. We all feel and see that the dissatisfaction of the broad strata of the workers class is increasing, and we are all somewhat frightened by it. This was shown by the strikes which caused the greatest reverberations in the past year or 2 (at the Rasa mine, in the Skopje steel mill, in Maribor, in the Bosnian mines, in Zmaj, and in Borovo). Dissatisfaction embraces more and more people and the

political demands are harsher and harsher. Tito's pictures and the slogans, "You have betrayed Tito," as well as some slogans of a political nature that cause concern indicate this. We have also had the first indications of violent behavior: A group of people wanted to stop traffic in Maribor, a number of Borovo workers broke into the Federal Assembly (of course we know that the SFRY Assembly is a workers' assembly, or should be, and that it must be open to organized workers, but not to the crowd), Split taxi drivers blocked off the airport and inflicted great harm on tourism. All these things must be openly confronted.

If we look at what is involved when strikes break out we see that anarcho-syndicalist and lumpen proletariat outlooks also break out, that there is much noisy aggression by poor workers, and that political speculators and demagogues infiltrate the workers' ranks from outside. We also have manifestations of mature, developed class consciousness, we have some very justified political requests, as well as requests for profound changes over a wide range, from very acceptable ones to those that are extremely destructive. It often happens that, from the beginning, the leading positions in the workers' protest are taken by the worst workers, workers that are poorly educated, unskilled, the most endangered, often on the margins of society, underprivileged, often displaying deviant behavior. At the same time, however, workers also show great abilities in self-organization, and a great majority speak maturely and behave responsibly. Instead of these abilities being expressed through self-management organs, through the trade union and party organizations, and through everything that we hold to be socialist, they are often manifested in this way, contrary to and outside the legal organizations and institutions, and often even against them. This is what causes particular concern.

Processes of stratification have been going on in our society, owing to property acquired without work and the phenomena of people using their working hours and social resources for their private purposes, as well as the nibbling away at social income have acquired large dimensions. Therefore, the worker does the same thing whenever he can: works less or shirks his duties, and seeks any earnings outside his work place, even during work hours. In order to ensure his existence and to earn a bare subsistence, he often enters into dubious dealings, works badly, and uses his working hours and social resources for his private purposes, or embezzles property. We must not idealize the workers class in this respect. These phenomena are often to be found among its members, but poor examples are also set by many of us who do not work in production organizations.

All this must be observed in the light of the fact that 62 percent of the people employed in this country have a below-average personal income, and that personal income does not ensure even a bare subsistence if a man does not have an additional source of income. If he does not have that additional income, a worker really has nothing to lose. He therefore behaves accordingly; he says, I must strike and protest in the street.

I think that we must agree that, however difficult this may seem, and however big the problems may grow to be and to whatever extent discontent may spread, we must not make concessions that would endanger our very orientation toward the economic reform that we have not even started. A great majority of workers do not oppose reforms, but social deformations. They want to work as much as possible and are prepared to work more under the condition that they can somehow manage to live from their work.... Communists must not be strike-breakers. Where is their place? Well, their place is among the workers and with the workers! Whenever there is a workers' protest, as a rule it turns out that the party organization is not at the site of the protest, as if they had vanished into thin air. In a word, party organizations at the grass roots are weak, and we are all to blame for their being in such a state of abandonment, uninfluential, and sometimes composed of people who are perhaps not desirable because of their lack of creativity and humane interest.

If we do not want a parallel trade union to appear, then the trade union must be with the workers and must head them. Therefore, we in the LC must support efforts by the Trade Union Federation to find the right answers as to what position to take toward strikes. Strikes are not a question for the Constitution and laws. No matter whether we recognize them or not, and put them down in constitution and in law or not, they break out and will continue to do so, and we shall have to support them whenever they are justifiable, and support all aspects of them that are justifiable. We shall have to support them as Communists and as trade union activists, whatever happens. Whatever is unjustifiable in the workers' demands will have to be suppressed by reasoning, real political methods of winning people over to our side, real programs, and above all by solutions that will enable people to produce, and live off their work.

We must seek some new forms and methods of organizing both the LC and the Trade Unions in our work organizations and at the places where they are needed, new methods of work so that we can always be at the right place so that the workers class does not have to march to the offices where we sit, occupied with our sterile meetings and oriented only toward papers and the inflation of our own conclusions that we are incapable of implementing. The key questions here are initiative, the ability to confront problems on the spot, and solutions that do not destroy the system and reform, but further the former and open roads for the latter. This is what is involved here: How to make sure that the "structures" do not sit at sessions and leave the workers to walk to Belgrade.

It is also very important that measures in the current economic policy should not be slow, ponderous, delayed, etc. This does not only involve the activity of the FEC,

the SFRY Assembly, all our executive councils and all our assemblies, but also that which can be done on the spot and within the system. Does it really mean that work organizations that worked poorly last year, but are operating perfectly now, should still be affected by restrictions? Well then, let them repay later what they may have used to excess before.

Yugoslavia has somewhat over 500 organizations of associated labor (out of which there are about 400 composite organizations of associated labor) with over 1,000 employees. Among them are our big systems; railroads and the post. It is primarily within them that the real problems and the real danger of a workers' protest lie, it is within them that old industries and production with no future are concentrated. And here is my question: Is it not necessary for economic chambers, executive councils, as well as all of us to have a list of all work organizations with a higher concentration of the workers class which have great difficulties in production and who acutely need restructuring, new production programs, the introduction of new technologies, the overcoming of the greatest difficulties in current economic operations, and solutions to problems of reserves and the market? One cannot approach each of these organizations in the same way, but is it not necessary to have a team of experts for each of them, maybe different kinds of teams, ranging from those in the factory, that is, on the spot, in the commune, and even up to the Federation if necessary, so that they can make an effort with a view to helping the most creative forces there. And if there are no such forces there, let us then introduce them. I think that we would have to have programs for both preventive measures and measures to solve accumulated problems in the most endangered work organizations with the largest number of the members from the workers class, and not allow a workers march en masse to force us face these problems.

However, let me repeat, we are late in adopting social programs which will help development. We must adopt them urgently at the republican and provincial levels. Then it is the problem of trade unions at the Yugoslav level to ensure that some problems pertaining to protection of the workers class are coordinated and that solidarity at the Yugoslav level is ensured.

[The following four passages appear boxed within the body of the item]

Warnings [subhead]

In the broad masses of the workers class there is undoubtedly a great and profound loyalty to our socialist ideals. And it is not true that any one of us interprets majority moods, currents, and pressures as an antisocialist danger. What is involved is the fact that workers are warning us that we have mostly been and still are betraying these socialist ideals of ours in practice.

Slogans That Call [subhead]

We have slogans that call for solidarity and links among workers irrespective of factory, communal, and republican walls and national divides, and this follows the line of the workers movement, but there is also a threat of a general strike in the most endangered industrial branches or spheres of social work which, if it really broke out, could cause great economic and political damage, and open the doors to chaos.

Out of Step [subhead]

Workers do not feel responsible for mistakes, they are not informed, do not take part in decisionmaking, and therefore have the feeling that they have no part in self-management on the spot, although they swear by and are deeply loyal to our general socialist aims. This is where specific situations in life and our socialist ideals are out of step.

Heaven for Thieves [subhead]

There is a widespread feeling in the workers class and the people—why ignore it—that Yugoslavia has become a heaven for thieves, cheats, and resourceful and unscrupulous parvenus. People see everything that is owned, done, and can be afforded by all these various rich people of ours, they see the extent to which we still have our bureaucratic privileges, and the socially secure position of all of us who work in social administration, outside and far from the factory halls.

Further Comment on LCY Pleanm on Kosovo

Setinc Says LCY To Help

LD0408163888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1033 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Zagreb, 4 Aug (TANJUG)—The LCY Central Committee is determined to start work immediately on providing more organized help to the Kosovo comrades in their efforts to resolve the problems of Kosovo. We need to create a new and better climate for a concerted action to improve intranational relations.

This is what Franc Setinc, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium said this evening in the Zagreb television political program "Spektar."

Speaking about immediate tasks regarding Kosovo, Setinc stressed the importance of joint efforts in observing and enforcing the law in order to increase the security for everybody in Kosovo, primarily for Serbs and Montenegrins who have been under various kinds of pressure. Stressing the importance of Kosovo's faster economic development, he said that it did not so much depend on resources as on sound programs. A new development model is needed to stop funds from being squandered.

Asked about the implications which the constitutional changes will have for the situation in Kosovo, Setinc noted that the constitutional changes—the work on which, by the way, must be speeded up—will, of course, help to stabilize the situation in Kosovo. However, he stressed, the constitutional changes should not be viewed as depending on Kosovo directly. If this was the case, hasty solutions would have to be made which would in no way help Yugoslavia's future development, but would take us back to the situation we worked hard to overcome.

We must vigorously counter views to the effect that, for instance, the 1974 Constitution is the main cause of the counterrevolution, and that it must therefore be changed and a new Yugoslavia created. In Setinc's view these are very dangerous claims, which must be opposed. However, Setinc said, this does not mean that the constitutional changes are of no importance. Of course we need them, but they must not be seen as an attempt at promoting solutions which deviate from the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia]-founded Yugoslavia.

Asked to comment on the fact that, except for LCY Central Committee members from Serbia and the provinces, contributions to the debate at the last LCY Central Committee session by members from other republics were merely symbolic, Setinc said that the voice of the others should have been more vociforous, as the problem of Kosovo affects the entire country, and is a problem which calls for the same amount of effort from us all. Asked if this was a case of trying to avoid any kind of arbitration in relations between Serbia and the provinces, Setinc said that he did not think so. "This is not an internal issue of Serbia alone. If the issue of internal relations in the SR of Serbia is to be tackled in an unprincipled way, the consequences would sooner or later be felt by other parts of Yugoslavia. In other words, we must ensure that a sound atmosphere and a climate of tolerance are created in Serbia, that the existing differences are overcome and discussed without trying to discredit each other—all with the aim of finding the best possible solutions, and reaching agreements. This is of interest to all of us, and we must all help in these efforts."

Setinc went on to add that perhaps, too much emphasis is being placed on the differences in views. They exist, and this is something quite normal. "We all agree that the counterrevolution is still present, that the process of emigration continues unabated, that intranational relations in Kosovo have further deteriorated. These are being boosted by various other forms of nationalism in Yugoslavia, which have recently escalated. There is no difference in views on these points. Differences arise because some place more emphasis on emigration under duress some on socioeconomic causes, some on the unfortunate problem of unemployment. In the case of single-nationality gatherings, we all agree that the Serbs and Montenegrins, who have to shoulder all the misery and unhappiness, and who gather to protest and to draw the attention of not just Belgrade but of other parts of Yugoslavia too, to their problems, are not in the dock here. We all agree on this point. Differences arise in the views on the ways of how to treat Serbian nationalists and organizers. Some wish to accentuate this problem, some to play down its importance."

Setinc called for more younger people to be brought into leading positions, and for work methods to be improved as a response to increasingly demanding tasks. "A man like Tito is not likely to appear on the scene for a long time. But there will be people in Yugoslavia suitable for such a function." Reiterating the need for a better style of leadership, Setinc insisted that this could be achieved through open discussions, and the search for common solutions through an open dialogue, without anyone, be he young or old, feeling unequal in the leadership.

Asked, in Slovene, why at the last session of the LCY Central Committee he had decided to deliver the final part of his report in Slovene, Setinc replied, in Slovene: "Not just to point out that Serbo-Croation is not the official language of the state, but because I wanted to say something which I felt I could better express in my mother tongue. In other words, I wanted to put an end to the criticism that we, Slovenes, have no sympathy with or understanding for the problems of Serbs and Montegrins in Kosovo because they are so far form us and are therefore of no interest to us. I wanted to say, in Slovene, that we, Slovenes, sympathize with them, because we ourselves were persecuted." Setinc also added that Slovenes also sympathize with the Albanians—of course, not with the separatists. For, if anyone has suffered from Albanian separatism it is the Albanian population in Kosovo, who are now feeling the effects of attempts to isolate them within Yugoslavia.

At the same time, Setinc said toward the end of his interview, I expressed my feelings about the events in Slovenia. "I wanted to say that I understand Slovenes' national feeling in connection with the fact that the Slovene language was not respected during the trial before the military court when, despite the provisions in the Slovene Constitution, Slovene was not spoken. I do not think I am in any way a nationalist for holding this view." Since national feelings are something noble, why should I not cherish them. I spoke Slovene in the Sava center loudly and clearly enough to make it heard in all Yugoslavia, Franc Setinc, LCY Central Committee Presidium member said in the Zagreb television program "Spektar."

Kosovo Press on Plenum

AU0408130388 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Aug 88 p 11

[Vidoje Djikanovic article: "Shadows of Disunity," reprinted from Pristina JEDINSTVO; date not given]

[Text] The Yugoslav public rightly expected that the 16th LCY Central Committee would provide an answer to the questions of why the crystal-clear and urgent tasks

included in the ninth plenum conclusions are not being carried out, and of how long the drama of Kosovo will continue. However, these expectations were not completely fulfilled...

The only thing that is new is that disunity in the LC is now more obvious than it was, not only over the Kosovo question. This was evident in the session itself.

If one can say that a year ago, at the Ninth LCY Central Committee Plenum when conclusions were issued on Kosovo, full agreement was reached on the conduct of the Kosovo drama, marked differences this time cast a shadow over this unity. The impression is that there are still individuals in the country's highest party forum who cannot or will not accept that the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo is a Yugoslav tragedy, and why this should be so.

It turns out that there are different views about the gatherings of Serbs and Montenegrins. It is certain that the self-organization of Serbs and Montenegrins to defend their rights and freedoms is not exemplary of the principled standpoints of organized subjective forces in our country. However, the question is whether matters would have reached this point, if the ninth plenum conclusions had been brought faithfully to life, if a decisive blow had been dealt to Albanian nationalism and separatism, if the flow of emigration had been stemmed, and if there had been no rapes... It is true that certain persons have strived, citing confidential information, to identify the activity of Albanian nationalism and separatism before the outbreak of the counterrevolution with the attempts of Serbian and Montenegrin nationalists to abuse the gatherings of Serbs and Montenegrins and their grievances. This, in fact, means striking an equation between Albanian nationalism and separatism, which bears all the marks of an organized political underground, with the public kinds of Serbian and Montenegrin nationalism in Kosovo.

Similar remarks could also be heard at the plenum from LCY Central Committee members from Kosovo, and not only from them, claiming that the situation in Kosovo is not all that complicated. It is these very differences in viewing the Kosovo situation, emerging in the highest party forum in the land, that refute those who look with excessive optimism to the speedy solution of the exceptionally serious problems in Kosovo.

It was realistic to expect that the often-mentioned question of responsibility for the failure to enforce the conclusions, scheduled for the session, would be finally settled. There was an opportunity to critically examine the work and commitment of the individuals who were most responsible during the past year for the slow enactment of the conclusions. This, in the political sense, would have meant a lot...

However, such a turning-point was not reached this time. Those individuals who called for responsibility, mentioning names and surnames, acted in considerable isolation. Those mentioned immediately stood up to argue, saying that they did not feel responsible. This prompts the question of whether there is anybody at all who is responsible for the inconsistency and lack of principle in enacting what was agreed.

But, despite everything, the newly-assumed tasks certainly represent a step forward in the general activity leading to the stabilization of conditions in Kosovo. It must be believed that, despite all difficulties, and despite all the negative incidents accompanying activity to stabilize the situation in the province, things will move in the desired direction.

Reform Sought

AU0408104988 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 2 Aug 88 p 2

[Boris Jez commentary: "A Mirror of Our Contradictions and Quandaries"]

[Text] During the polemics about the agenda at the latest plenum of the LCY Central Committee, Stipe Suvar mused approximately as follows: The central problem of the present session is not the Serbs and Montenegrins that emigrate from Kosovo, but primarily the party organization and its leaderships that cannot prevent the emigration. The marathon discussion then demonstrated that he was very much right.

The discussion was literally saturated with criticism and self-criticism, but it seems that it did not touch the essence of the matter for a minute. The verbal nature of self-criticism was finally demonstrated by Radovan Radonjic' intended resignation which the Central Committee did not accept; in this way it showed either that it did not understand the message contained in Radonjic' attempt to resign or that it acted completely opportunistically: The explanation of the resignation was such that the public could afterwards conclude that morally firm and politically "conscious" members leave the Central Committee but others stay.

It also seems that the actors in the 1-hour offensive at the beginning of the plenum were in a way right: the Novi Sad "events" cannot be separated from the events in Slovenia, the strikes, the constitutional changes, and the like. Although hidden motives were undoubtedly also present in this offensive, its logical design also applies to the latest plenum at least at the general level. It is not possible to discuss Kosovo without examining the whole of Yugoslavia, its internal political and economic situation, the entire contradiction of reform attempts, and so forth. This truth indeed was one of the tones underlaying the discussion, but the view has obviously been prevailing for years that one should have a special political and economic program for Kosovo. If we want it or not, in this way we introduce additional elements of a state or

emergency in the situation in the province, which of course is not a contribution to "normalization," but rather an incentive to the growth of a increasingly unhealthy disposition.

It is probably no particular discovery to say that we would probably do most for the situation in Kosovo if we first "normalized" the internal political situation in general. Because the top Yugoslav party leadership had not decided for such an approach, the latest plenum was condemned in advance to a relative success (at best). Within such a concept, it is not possible to say much more about Kosovo than was said at the ninth session, and therefore the latest debate was destined to remain more or less at the level of verbalistic exhibitions. Suvar's appeal at the beginning of the plenum that on the basis of the conclusions that had been accepted, one should above all "operationalize" specific tasks was in vain; in this respect they could not agree on much more than the need to reorganize the detachment of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs.

Although we do not deny that the Kosovo problem is a big running sore, it would seem to be more logical if the highest party forum spent less time denouncing in principle various forms of nationalism, separatism, and so forth, and more time dealing with specific problems of the legal order, new economic system, a more modern political system, and so forth. Kosovo certainly has its own psychological, cultural, and other specific traits, but they certainly cannot be of such a nature that they could not be "resolved" within a general Yugoslav reform of the main segments of the social structure. It is true, as it was said at the plenum, that all the problems of Yugoslavia have become concentrated in Kosovo, but it is likewise also probably true that these problems cannot be solved in the province first and elsewhere afterwards.

Suvar was right: The latest plenum was chiefly a plenum about the party. If you want it or not, Kosovo was a mirror in which the outlines of all the contradictions and quandaries were shown in which the present LC exists and which it is obviously not yet capable of resolving, despite incessantly "noting" the facts. It would be good if we would finally move from a flood of verbal self-criticism to a true renewal of the party; this would also be good for all the political and economic reforms without which there will be no progress, and obviously also for the Serbs, the Montenegrins (and the Albanians) in Kosovo.

Plenum Defends Ideology

AU0408141088 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 1 Aug 88 p 5

[Vjekoslav Krnik commentary: "Twilight of Democratic Centralism"]

[Text] The marathon 16th session of the LCY Central Committee in the Belgrade Sava Center, at the boiling point of the tense Yugoslav political climate, did not have anything in common with the current practice of routine top party organ's sessions. It would be a gross mistake to think that the 20 hours of the session, held in front of television audience for the first time, were in vain because nobody was replaced for irresponsible behavior. Even the voluntary departure of Radovan Radonjic, member of the Central Committee, who "wanted to demonstrate with his personal example that he belongs to an organization of moral people," was not accepted.

Although the topic of the discussion was Kosovo, the very beginning of the 16th session indicated that a much more crucial issue for the LCY organization was to be discussed, namely the attempt to remove from the agenda the second item, the report on the assessment and views of the LCY Central Committee on the visit and protest of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins in Novi Sad. The sheer fact that this call originated in the ranks of the Serbian LC Central Committee, points to a tactical maneuver of this LC organization that the discussion and explanation of what happened between the LC of Serbia and the LC of Vojvodina after the Novi Sad events be postponed for some other time. Kosovo was a good excuse for that. In political jargon, this was an attempt to win time. This maneuver was, however, rejected because only "15 or 16" members of the Central Committee were in favor of removing this point from the agenda. Following such an outcome of a procedural matter, which was discussed for a full hour, it became clear that despite the fact that many—one could even say the majority of the Central Committee members—came to the session with prepared written speeches, the discussion would not be routinely monotonous. True, at some recent sessions there were sparks that attracted the media's attention and revealed differences spotted a long time ago in some ideologically essential issues regarding the development of the Yugoslav federation, but considering that recent events had assumed almost a dramatic course, it was only a question of time before these sensitive topics would be raised. Therefore it is obvious that, as Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said in his concluding speech, a series of polemics and replies—there were 83 speeches including those made by "professional speakers"—made it absolutely clear that we in Yugoslavia are not only waging a battle for Kosovo, but waging a battle in Kosovo for Yugoslavia.

The realization of the Ninth LCY Central Committee Plenum conclusions on Kosovo and the Yugoslav program for Kosovo in order to achieve stability in the province, halt the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins under duress, and establish law and order for all Kosovo citizens, turned, because of the polemical tone at the session, into a battle for Yugoslavia that must be pursued, especially the part that involves its constitutional organization as a community of equal peoples and nationalities. This is an important line of division between the speeches of Josip Vrhovec, Kacusa Jasari, Janko Drca, and Vidoje Zarkovic on the one hand, and

Borisav Jovic, Nikola Jovanovic, and Slobodan Milosevic and some other participants in the discussion on the other. Some clear statements made by Vidoje Zarkovic in the final part of the marathon session are worth noting because, without beating about the bush, they directly give a real picture of the current clashes within the LCY. "Never in the history of our party have we had such drastic internal clashes in public....At a time when we are in a serious economic situation, when we are preoccupied with economic reforms, we have already spent 15 days discussing a clash that should have not happened....We are in a similar situation to that which characterized the cultural revolution in China, and all our legal institutions are proclaimed bureaucratic....We have created a situation in which anybody can be irresponsibly besmirched, in which untruths and insults can be made...."

Although the 16th plenum will remain a subject of discussion and analysis for a long time, one thing is certain. The plenum repelled an attempt by one republican LC organization, which used Kosovo as an excuse, to impose its own assessments and suggestions for resolving the Yugoslav social, political, and economic crisis, regardless of nice words calling for "united Yugoslavia" with which these proposals and demands were dressed up. It is also clear that in different parts of the LCY there are different views about how to overcome the general Yugoslav crisis. These views recently reached their culmination and were given a certain party confirmation at this session for, if there is a common description for the outcome of the plenum, then it is precisely the disunity expressed on some essential issues in the ranks of the highest LCY organ. The most important thing is that the Constitution of 1974—attacked for its parts that refer to the federal organization of Yugoslavia based on the AVNOJ principles—was overwhelmingly defended.

The fact that the Constitution was questioned, not only at this session but also with everything that has happened recently in Yugoslavia and in interparty relations, raises the question of one of the most fundamental principles of the Yugoslav communist movement, the principle of democratic centralism. It is ironic that the republican party organization that advocates unity and togetherness and class before national interests, is attacking through its exclusive positions the principle of democratic centralism, which is the foundation of this policy. This policy leads to the confederation of the party, although the confederal elements could be found in other party organizations in Yugoslavia. This is, however, an ideological, theoretical question that has not been tackled yet. But, it is clear that in the future, within economic, political, and social democratization, this question should occupy a very important position so that a synthesis may be reached in Yugoslavia. Without it, there can be no stable party relations in a modern LCY that would suit the interests of the nation, class, and community at the threshold of the 21st century.

Kosovo Polje Albanians Sign Petition

AU0408195488 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report]

[Text] A new petition has been circulating through Kosovo Polje recently. It is addressed to all sociopolitical organizations, ranging from local community to the top party and state leaderships of Yugoslavia. The petition has been put together by a group of Albanian nationals and, as we were told, it has been signed so far by about 200 Albanians living in the 16th and 17th local communities in Kosovo Polje.

On its eight typewritten pages, the petition stresses that the majority of Albanian nationals who live in Kosovo Polje support togetherness and good-neighborly relations with Serbs and Montenegrins and that not all Albanians are nationalists. The petition asks who makes it possible for a small group of Serbs and Montenegrins to continue to claim that it is impossible to live together with Albanians which, as is said, can make uninformed people believe that Albanians spread hatred and make other people's life difficult.

It is not true that we do not fight Albanian nationalism, it is stated in the petition, but if what is meant under nationalism is the use of our mother tongue, schooling for and the prosperity of Albanians, as well as their birthrate then it is impossible to expect us to fight ourselves, the signatories assert. We oppose the demands that our language and our national flag should not be equal with the others and we do not accept the accusations that we behave in a fascistoid way. The petition adds that it is an illusion that the problems of Serbs and Montengrins can be solved without Albanians.

The signatories of the petition stress that if the need arises, they will take care of the security of Serbs and Montenegrins and their children.

It is still not known whether the petition had been sent to any sociopolitical organization, but from what we could learn unofficially, the leadership of Pristina knows about it.

Commentary Criticizes Petition

AU0408195788 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Kosta Krajincanic commentary on the petition signed by Albanian nationals from Kosovo Polje]

[Text] This petition would have sounded almost unbelievable had it not been preceded by years of completely unsuccessful attempts to stabilize the general situation in Kosovo and to protect personal integrity of Serbs and Montenegrins. However, because the situation exists, the petition could be expected, particularly in the wake of several political gatherings at which all differences in

observing the current Kosovo reality appeared. In fact, the path to such a petition was cleared by these very differences, and signatories of the petition were encouraged by statements and speeches by both those people who are constantly striving to beautify the Kosovo picture and by those whom the great Kosovo trouble has left unmoved for years.

It is not at all incidental that this petition appeared after some speeches were made at the 16th LCY Central Committee session, in which it was asserted that results achieved in Kosovo to date are insufficiently appreciated and valued, that insufficient confidence is granted to the provincial leadership, that Kosovo is not a special zone in which one should use special methods, and so on. This defensive stance which was heard at the latest party plenum seems to have given the tone to the text of the petition.

It is not true that we do not fight Albanian nationalism and we do not accept the accusations that we behave in a fascistoid way, signatories of the petition say. Is it at all necessary now to recall that no reasonable person in Yugoslavia ever identified Albanian nationalists and separatists with the entire Albanian population in Kosovo or attributed their evildoings to it? Has any reasonable person ever claimed that Albanians in Kosovo should be forbidden to use their language, that their schools should be closed down, their flags torn apart, and their families destroyed? Such nonsense could only be created by fanaticism of either Serbian or Albanian nationalists.

Examples of good relations among people in the province have always been received with joy and full approval, often with exaggerated publicity, all because of the desire to become models to be followed; the commitment of Albanian nationals in the struggle against the counterrevolution has since the Kosovo platform been marked as one of the most important factors of solving the Kosovo situation. However, the problem lies in the fact that these examples have been too few and such commitment too little compared with real needs, and there was too much nationalist savagery that did not care about the law, one's neighbor, one's neighbor's honor, his grave, his church, or his life.

Therefore, with full respect for good-neighborly relations mentioned by the signatories of the Kosovo Polje petition, their promise that they will take care of the security of Serbs and Montenegrins and their children if there is need sounds hypocritical. Has such need not arisen very many times during these 7 years?

'Pseudo-Democrat', Separatists Criticized

AU0308103988 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jul 88 p 2

[Milos Bukvic commentary: "The Recognizability of Gaudy Wrapping"]

[Text] Our democratic "vanguardists" want a free hand for the new decision on the self-determination of individual nations, while insisting at the same time on a firmer link with Europe. On the one hand they are bothered by a certain dependency toward Yugoslavia and on the other, they are agitating for a firmer link with Europe. They are bothered by Yugoslavia's foreign policy as they want to put Yugoslavia into other regional and political groupings. They are irritated by calls to the heritage of the National Liberation War and the socialist revolution as they are inspired by some other, primarily Western, models of the organization and functioning of societies. They are particularly inspired by some neighboring global societies which have started (and lost) both world wars.

Our pseudo-democrats, who suffer the complex of not being part of the "real" Europe, are not interested in the experiences of other, primarily European, peoples who have armies. Several European countries have, along with strong national armies, foreign military bases stationed in them, whose installation was not decided on by the people. They contain nuclear warheads, which are of course targets for possible nuclear attacks. Moreover, the ordinary people do not even know about everything in these bases and what role they would have in possible military confrontations.

In the countries which serve our pseudo-democrats as a model, the people have never decided on the formation, location, and tasks of the numerous legions of foreigners who "establish order" and regulate "the demographic equilibrium" in the Asian-African area. Spontaneous protests by young people in the West have never broken out because they have to do military service or because arms are sold to other countries, but because they have to go to a country across the water to sow death. The army has existed in some Western countries for centuries and millenia, which makes the people particularly proud.

It is not our aim, in presenting the role and social position of some armies in democratic countries, to influence respect for our army and its role and position so far. This is certainly not necessary when it comes to our army. It is our aim to remind our pseudo-democrats of the earlier, and above all, modern-day experiences of civilized peoples with regard to their armies.

What Is the Infamous Fact [subhead]

The biggest state secrets are in fact military secrets, both in our country and in other countries of the world. How, for example, is one under present conditions to democraticize and put at the disposal of the public a run-down of the operational documents in the military general staff, plans for the wartime development of units, the arrangement of services, branches, and formations, the organization of communications in various situations, the choice and location of mobilized assembly places, clothes and food stores, the urgent needs of dislocated units, and the training of commanders in the event of the country being attacked by one aggressor or another. How can one publish projects for new armaments, the locality and capacity of underground airports, the system of

antiaircraft defense, intelligence-reconnaissance activity, and the formation of units and their combat capability! This is only a small part of what every state keeps strictly confidential, not only from potential aggressors but also from allies and its own public, and even from a large number of individuals and groups who work in state organs and the armed forces.

We also do what others do, regardless of how much or whether we want to or not. Whether the number (scope) of military and state secrets can be reduced, is also another question but one can certainly not decide on this at the insistence, the shouts, and spiteful pressure of certain groups of people, particularly of those who have made it very clear in the media what they want.

What would happen, for example, if regional or national armies were set up—perhaps three in Bosna-Hercegovina and four or five in Vojvodina? It is better not to think about that, as we have already experienced it during the war and paid for it in blood. We should never let it happen again!

The infamous fact is that all our nations do not have the same or a similar past, that their wartime past does not have that social integrational function that is the case with some other nations, and that it does not figure as a fact of everyday life, according to which the actions of individuals are measured. This has lasted for centuries. It is part of the tradition of a people-nation which should be understood and respected.

On the other hand, all of the history of some of our people-nations has been "characterized" by a centuries-long struggle against foreign powers. Their whole history is—almost—a history of wars, in which all the more significant national symbols and people's sacred objects arose. Their people know exactly who was the most fearless fighter 100 or 200 years ago, where and how he died, and who left the battlefield where and when, who carried the standard, and who commanded the army and how. Everything is known and nothing falls into oblivion. Every important detail is known as the behavior of fighters in the struggle against foreign powers was the basic measure of the reputation and even social status, of not just the fighter in question but also of his wider family. All this may be over the top for some people, it can be considered that civilized ways and a contemporary image is lacking, but these are facts which should also be understood and respected.

Among some of our nations, the military profession has, because of the lack of other employment opportunities, become a very important channel for social action and social progress. Any underestimation of the military profession in our circumstances could offend the feelings of whole regions, and the person who does this can bring-down the wrath of people not only on himself as an individual, but also on the community where such statements occur.

Malicious Expectations [subhead]

Our so-called ordinary person is also offended by our Army being compared with various armies in the world. Our pseudo-democrats put all armies into the same basket, not taking account of the feelings of a huge part of our people. By besmirching the Army, they also, most unbelievably, want to create new cracks and divisions on our territory, believing that the present socioeconomic crisis is, at the same time, the overall crisis of the Yugoslav community.

Our Army is not to blame for such affairs as FENI, Obrovac, Agrokomerc, for nationalisms, debts, disunity, and the social crisis. These arose independently of the Army and the crisis would probably be even greater were the Army not so firm and united, were it not one of the most important supports for brotherhood and unity.

The Paracin crime served them as an expression of hatred of the Army and the malicious expectation of such a scandal connected with it. It became the universal example for various types of "proof," for the expression of cynicism and malice, and for mockery of the way young soldiers and cadets are trained. This hatred reached its height with the arrest of three people suspected of possessing and distributing strictly confidential military documents. Organized individual and even group attacks on members of the Yugoslav People's Army and their children and families also began. It seems that all the wrath of that social riffraff which was defeated and stripped bare in front of the whole world in 1945, has foolishly rushed toward the West and away from Yugoslav Army units, like a phantom of the young men who were expected to spread and deepen the Yugoslav revolution and freedom, while they could. The Yugoslav public faces an assault by a militant movement of initially vague, but recently easily recognizable ideas which we believed would never appear again on our territory. These are freely preached and defended bravely, they increase daily, and are embellished with new catchwords.

The official reactions of some holders of public posts have become, to put it mildly, stereotyped, but vague nevertheless. They usually say first of all that the economic situation is alarming, then that unitarism and centralism are to blame for this, and then they define the interests of this community of the national "cultural arena" and its resolution in persisting with the "difficult struggle" for its full emancipation and sovereignty, and finally, they say that young people are justifiably furious about many different things and that there are certain exaggerations here and there and that these exaggerations could ruin the strategic aims of the nation. In other words, the individual exaggerations which meet with surprise and concern in other communities, disrupt the global scenario of a united struggle, as they have come too early and they are too recognizable, and insufficiently articulated for the wider strata of the peoples and such like. For some people, this is the revolutionized

wrath of young people which disrupts or impedes the united course of the struggle. Attacks on members of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] in the physical and social arena which wants to be presented as an autogenous cultural arena, are condemned because they are uncultured and uncivilized and not because they are simply attacks! The accent is on their form and not on their content; on the target and not on the repercussions. The mischievous young men blame the members of the YPA because they are members of the YPA—personally they are not guilty but they are guilty because they belong to a hated institution which hinders social reform! Their "hit and run" method of struggling is not dignified, it does not leave an impression, it spoils the struggle's Promethean spirit. Finally, does this mean that some holders of public posts are in favor of cultural attacks on YPA members?

However, it is dangerous that such easily recognizable ideas are appearing at the height of our social crisis, when people are living in uncertainty, when it is easier to manipulate them, when feelings and passions overpower reason and logic, when the abnormal becomes the normal, and when the normal becomes logically absurd!

When Passion Overpowers Reason [subhead]

Our pseudo-democrats and intellectual exhibitionists know this very well, so they quickly adapt themselves to the course and dimensions of the crisis. From the ostensibly naive individuals who want peace and everything which is acceptable to a civilized person and hate war, the gallows, weapons, and parades, a movement is gradually growing which wants a radical break— not with the crisis but with the whole heritage of the Yugoslav socialist revolution—and the destruction of Yugoslavia. A militant movement is growing, or has already grown, out of the seedlings of our peace campaigners which is for the directing of social development on a global scale. Their allusions and fine lampooning are gradually becoming an open attack on the YPA and its members and all institutions of the system and the heritage of the revolution. Anonymous elements in MLADINA and NOVA REVIJA are competing to see who will write something uglier and more vulgar and who will spit further. If this was their way of coming out of their anonymity, then they have succeeded. If they want to alter Yugoslavia according to their own standards, then they are deceiving themselves, Yugoslavia will not permit that! Nebulous programs, "drowned" by gaudy wrapping and embellished with rhetorical finesse are too easily recognizable to survive. They are condemned widely throughout the country, spontaneously and in an organized way, by individuals, groups, and the masses, in any case democratically and unanimously. This is the best way of rejecting every argument of our pseudo-democrats about the alleged democratic nature of their initiative and its general acceptability.

Assembly Body Drafts Constitutional Changes

LD0408183988 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1735 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 4 (TANJUG)—The Constitutional Commission of the Federal Assembly today formulated draft constitutional amendments which will largely affect the country's socio-economic system.

The amendments will abolish private property limits, with the exception of a land maximum of 30 hectares, and will give workers the right to strike.

The commission described the package of nine economic amendments, especially the abolition of limits on property, as a major ideological turning-point in Yugoslavia.

If adopted, the amendments will lift limits on the ownership of flats, housing facilities, the means of production and business premises. Unlike before, every citizen will be permitted to earn income by renting these facilities.

The land maximum will be raised from 10 hectares at present to 30 hectares, with the possibility of even more hectares in mountainous areas.

A number of speakers in today's debate opposed the abolition of private property restrictions, their chief objection being that the amendments would introduce a class of profit-reapers and would impinge on the social system.

On the other hand, the advocates of the amendment in question stressed that they supported the activation of all the resources available in the service of development and were in favour of encouraging competition between all forms of ownership, both private and social. Retaining the limits would be contrary to market logic, they said.

The proposed amendments will make the enterprise the main vehicle of income generation, guaranteeing it full freedom of organisation and independence. The workers will bear material and other consequences for inadequate utilisation and resources and those who fail to fulfill their obligations face dismissal, a significant departure from the practice so far.

Yugoslav firms will have the right to pool financial and other means owned by citizens, in return for a compensation, interest or other facilities, while the citizens will have the right to invest in the firm, sharing risk and corresponding rights. The firms will also be allowed to issue bonds for the money invested by citizens.

Under the proposed amendments, foreigners will also have the right to invest in Yugoslav firms, banks, associations and other forms of joint operation as co-partners, or to found their own firms in Yugoslavia.

Foreigners will also be guaranteed participation in the management of (?joint) operations, transfer of profit, return of investment and other rights stipulated by the contract. These rights would not be diminished by any other law or regulation.

Silence Reportedly Increased Agrokomerc Damage
AU0308174388 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jul 88 p 2

[Zvonimir Azdejkovic commentary: "Silence Has Eaten Up Billions"]

[Text] Silence as a way to ignore the problems that have ignited the fire under the cauldron in which our entire country somehow found itself had its roots in the regional division of power and in the inefficiency of state institutions. The accumulation of problems behind closed doors, lulling people with idyllic stories about conflictless situations, and all this supported by public silence must sooner or later result in a big bill. In some cases this means losing confidence in official statements and a division between the people "at the head" and those behind, that is the grass roots. In the case of Agrokomerc, which has recently added another point to its blacklist of unprecedented events, the measure of silence is damage totaling billions of dinars.

After it had been kept on ice under embargo for 15 months, a retold version of a confidential report by the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs was presented to the public only 3 days ago. On 14 April 1987 the confidential report prepared on the occasion of Agrokomerc's raid on the country's financial system was sent to about 30 addresses of the most responsible people in the country and in Bosnia-Hercegovina. In an interview he gave to NIN last September, Hamdija Pozerac, at that time vice president of the SFRY Presidency, said that in April the top leadership of the country had been informed about one of the two (mis)deeds that had brought Fikret Abdic before the court, and led about 11,000 workers to the verge of existential catastrophe. At that moment, these words of Hamdija Pozderac were not a "real" trail, so that the report of the Federal Internal Affairs Secretariat was discussed on a larger scale in the SFRY Assembly only at the beginning of this year.

Agrokomerc's unmarred image symbolized by the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Award and Fikret Abdic's high political rating even after 14 April enabled the expansion of the bill of exchange network throughout Yugoslavia, at all places where there was some spare "cash." In an economic system in which it is virtually impossible to establish the right picture of one's business partner, the goodwill of a firm is evaluated by its being in favor with politicians, and Fikret Abdic had that kind of support. The practice of discounting uncovered bills of exchange, which—as the creator of the idea said at the Bihac trial—was an important method of pumping fresh money that lay unused because it was limited by law, had been going on in Agrokomerc since 1984. However, in April, May, and June last year Fikret Abdic went beyond all limits. It was in this period that most banks discounted Agrokomerc bills of exchange. The Ljubljana Basic Bank in Koper was caught in the net in the middle of June, when 200 billion dinars'-worth of bills of exchange had fallen due on the money market—but the Velika Kladusa Combine had no money in its account.

It is easy to see that the damage, which is now assessed at about 300 billion dinars, would have been much smaller had the truth about Agrokomerc reached the public in the middle of April. It is still not known how individual state organs reacted after 14 April. The report that FEC President Branko Mikulic submitted to SFRY Assembly delegates states what was undertaken by him and Vice President Milos Milosavljevic (the first one who recently spoke about the 14 April report and his activities in its wake). They spoke with Dimitrije Tasic, director of the Social Accounting Service of Yugoslavia, and demanded that inspectors conduct an urgent inquiry into the Social Accounting Service. It is not known what the inspectors found in the combine's books and whether they were already on the trail of the uncovered bills of exchange, but it is definitely known that there was already some mention of this at the Republican Executive Council of Bosnia-Hercegovina. It is also not known why the connections between the republican and federal social accounting services did not work all the time. Why did one turn a blind eye to the Bihac bank 3 years ago, although all conditions were there for its liquidation? How did the National Bank control the use of funds from the primary issue? There are still no answers to these questions. At the same time, delegates of the SFRY Assembly decided to remove the burden of responsibility from the federal organs. Last fall, one insisted that communists in the Social Accounting Service, in the National Bank, the money market, and other organs that had burned their fingers on Agrokomerc should establish the responsibility of individual people. After the Social Accounting Service of Yugoslavia remained silent about this and other cases, it seemed that some truths would finally surface, then everything stopped. The party organizations' conclusions were of a standard kind, and the spirit of silence remained within them.

The Belgrade LC City Committee recently insisted on the responsibility of people in the banks and organizations left with most of Agrokomerc bills of exchange on their hands. It seems that those to which this demand was addressed were, if not the wrong ones, then merely the nearest ones. A step further in the real search for who is to be blamed would lead to systemic laws and the Constitution.

The dispersed nature of the centers of decision and control—and Agrokomerc is evidence par excellence—leads to a loss of real responsibility. Such a large number of centers of decision, social control tailored according to the principles of regional interests and power, and not—as this sphere demands—according to the hierarchy of

functions, made it possible for the hot potato of responsibility to be passed from hand to hand. Whoever is caught holding it is in trouble.

The removal of the warning "strictly confidential" from the 14 April report also opens another set of questions. One should compare the addresses to which the report was sent with the "job descriptions" of the officials and the institutions which they head. Why are the public and the officials still on opposite poles that are distant to the point of hostility? All this is the interest on the debt that Agrokomerc has left.

Magazine Banned for Goli Otok Disclosures

AU0408095088 Belgrade POLITKA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Aug 88 p 10

[R.S. report: "KNJIZEVNE NOVINE Banned"]

[Text] After conferring for 2 and ½ hours, the bench of three headed by Janko Lazarevic issued a verdict at Belgrade District Court yesterday pronouncing a total ban on the distribution of the last double issue of KNJIZEVNE NOVINE (No 757/758 of 1 July 1988), the organ of the Serbian Writers' Association. In a single sentence of explanation uttered yesterday at the public trial (according to Judge Lazarevic, there will be details in 3 days' time), the bench accepted the charges formulated by the district public prosecutor, "because of the disclosure of false and sensational assertions which could upset the public relating to the enormous number of victims at Goli Otok and the responsibility of the highest party and state leaders."

It is a matter of an article by Dragoslav Mihailovic, "Criminals and Victims," in reply to Borivoj Viskic. At the same time, the bench announced that "All copies of the periodical are being confiscated and, when the verdict comes into effect, are to be destroyed." The injured party has the right to appeal within 3 days. As we discovered, the Serbian Writers Association will appeal "against this verdict on every point."

Decline of Standards in Journalism Deplored

AU0408081988 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Aug 88 p 11

[Aleksandar Tijanic article: "The 'Civil War' of Newspapers," reprint from Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA; date not given]

[Text] If the civil war of words in the nation's press continues, and editorial boards and politicians continue to glare at each other "red in tooth and claw," it is not impossible that the next generation will produce a nation of one-eyed, monstrous freaks!

The LCY Central Committee Presidium, discussing the war of words between Vojvodina and the rest of Serbia, concluded (19 July) that, in their interpretation the arrival of people from Kosovo to Novi Sad, the papers have raised to a new, dramatic pitch their false statements and smug, one-sided commentaries unreservedly supporting their "own" leaderships and their standpoints and views. This was the first time in the recent history of our renowned federation that party leaders have publicly commented on how media activity, the life-blood of every democratic society, has passed into the hands of "local shareholders," who also support their stands without any qualms or detachment. This involves the transformation of the true nature of the media, issuing professional and moral imperatives, and the turning papers into "tatsi-bao"—wall newspapers with particular outlooks.

Thus, we as a profession have reached a limit, where it is forgotten that journalism, just like economics and politics, must be a branch of anthropology, the study of mankind.

Relations among newspapers, as among politicians, can be reduced to two models: apathetic indifference and virulent intolerance! The origin of the conflicts, of course, is never within the media themselves.

In such a press, passing judgment precedes the verdict, and the investigation of the private lives of "victims;" passionate outbursts, and periodical outbreaks of character assassination represent the normal state of things. It is difficult to expect anything else from the media under the circumstances of the obvious homogenization of the nation, the party, and public opinion. With rare exceptions, and these are mainly professionals who know well that talentless people cannot be helped either by their god or their central committee, a profession that is voluntarily sacrificing itself is undergoing a period of decay.

As late as last year, the amateur investigators of our media proclaimed their renaissance: but a single detail was left out of this—there is no renaissance without humanism! Hoary national conflicts continue in the media: national defeats, victories, and sacrifices are paraded. The drum-beaters are becoming ever more strident; history consumes a larger proportion of editorial space than the future. Instead of filling the "constitutional blank space" and solving the impossible situation of Serbia, new arguments are begun which never before existed in history.

It is evident here that the old catchphrases about "corrupt politicians" and journalists who are "good cowboys" were never true. We all resemble each other. The newspapers will not be able to avoid their responsibility for having "fanned the flames of brotherhood and unity," for having lost their hard-won reputation as "vanguard fighters" in liberalizing the country, in making politicians pay some heed to public opinion, and in reducing the privileges of politicians and their insolence of office. The question of who first started the general strife is less important for the media than that of who will first end it. If this does not happen, the idea of a man

who died half a century ago will apply to our society and media: "Why has eternity not destroyed this monster of time? It was marked at birth by a newspaper's rubber stamp, the black ordure from its bowels is printing ink, and ink flows in its veins."

Vojvodina Writers on Novi Sad Events

AU3107185588 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jul 88 p 1

[S.K. report: "Resignation Because of Turning a Deaf Ear"]

[Text] Novi Sad, 26 Jul—One of the topics discussed at the session of the Presidium of the Vojvodina Writers Association was the recent events in Novi Sad, in other words the visit of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins to Novi Sad. Several views were noted in the discussion and they will be discussed in more detail at future sessions. This session only accepted the resignation of Slavko Gordic as a delegate of the Vojvodina Writers Association to the Provincial Conference of the Vojvodina SAWP.

Slavko Gordic, who was president of the Presidium of the Vojvodina Writers Association not so long ago, said that he does not want to be the Association's delegate to the Provincial Conference of the Vojvodina SAWP in protest of the irresponsible, undignified, bureaucratic, and obstinate attitudes of the Presidium of the Provincial Conference of the Vojvodina SAWP toward the citizens from Kosovo who came to Novi Sad on 9 July this year.

The Presidium unanimously accepted his views and, "led by basic human considerations," condemned some members of the leadership for their conduct during the visit of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins to Novi Sad as well as some statements made by Petar Matic, president of the Veterans Organization, in which he polemicized with Slobodan Milosevic.